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LIVES

OF SEVENTY OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS

VOLUME I.

Andrea della Robbia.

Virgin and Child.

LIVES OF SEVENTY

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS

AND

ARCHITECTS

BY

GIORGIO VASARI

EDITED AND ANNOTATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

E. H. AND E. W. BLASHFIELD

AND

A. A. HOPKINS

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE

VASARI'S LIVES are the most important contribution ever made to the history of Italian art, and no annotated English edition of them has appeared since the year 1850. This in itself is excuse enough for the present work. In 1885 a single volume of notes, by Dr. Richter, was added to the five-volume edition of Mrs. Foster's translation. But as these notes covered the entire series of "Lives," necessarily but a modicum of the results of modern methods of study and research could be covered by them. The editors of the present edition have preferred to choose among biographies rather than to limit the number of the notes, believing that a relatively complete annotation of the most important "Lives" was desirable.

Many of Vasari's "Lives" are valuable, but their difference in value is great, arising at once from the inherent interest of the biographies and the relative importance of the artists. Selection is a delicate matter and is always open to criticism from any special point of view. The student of archæology or manners may find much to interest him in the biographies of men whose artistic productions were comparatively valueless. The editors have taken these considerations into account, and in most cases have based their selection upon the relative importance of the artists in the evolution of Italian architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Fortunately the "Lives" which possess the finest literary quality, which manifest most clearly the sympathetic insight, impartiality, and critical faculty of Vasari, are also those devoted to the most celebrated artists. Many among these biographies, those, for instance, of Donatello, Brun-

elleschi, Angelico, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo, would have sufficed in any one case to make their author famous. This fact has simplified the task of the editors and enabled them, in four volumes, to present not only all the best of Vasari's biographies, but the material most valuable to the modern art-student as well.

As to the rendering of Vasari's original Italian text into English, the editors have decided to use the translation of Mrs. Jonathan Foster: first, because her text, while direct and simple, has a quaint flavor of archaism peculiarly adapted to a rendering of sixteenth-century diction which it would be difficult for the writer of to-day, influenced by modern art literature, accustomed to the use of art terms and technical expressions, to imitate without affectation; secondly, because it was through this translation that Vasari was first made known to the English-reading public. It is Mrs. Foster's work that is quoted, cited, and referred to by English writers. In few instances have author and translator become more closely identified.

A careful reading of Mrs. Foster's rendering shows that it is in part, at least, cabinet-work. Sometimes misinterpretations of the author arise from the fact that she had not seen and examined the picture or relief described; occasionally there is a misreading of some technical term; sometimes, too, she mistranslates, and some score of textual corrections have been added as foot-notes in the present volumes; but on the whole her work was admirable, and the editors regret that through lack of space they cannot say more of this English lady who, half a century ago, had the courage and enthusiasm to attempt such a task, and having attempted, accomplished it with so much thoroughness, sincerity, and felicity.

It is in view of the great changes that have taken place in the methods of art study and investigation during the last forty years that the present work has been undertaken. Since 1850 the literature of art has been revolutionized; criticism has become sceptical and scientific, works of art

are no longer admired with the eye of faith, but are scrutinized with the magnifying-glass of inquiry; systematized investigation has revealed many data unknown to the older writers. Minute observation, close reasoning, and documentary evidence have replaced the poetic descriptions, the dithyrambic raptures, and the fierce invectives of the early school of art critics; intensity of emotion is no longer accepted as a substitute for exact knowledge, or fervid eloquence as an equivalent for study. The best art criticism has ceased to be merely the literary expression of a transient effect produced on the spectator by a painting or a statue, and the artists themselves have written much that is enlightening regarding their own processes. Taine's *Philosophie de l'Art*, his *Voyage en Italie*, his comparative and historical method have become the common property of all students. Libraries, archives, family papers, state documents, private collections have yielded rich harvests to the investigators. Finally, the analytical and comparative system of Morelli, the close comparison of one picture with another which photography has made easy, the minute examination of canvas or marble, inch by inch and bit by bit, the strict scrutiny of details which once passed relatively unperceived, the inspection of media and materials, the work of art considered as an object of scientific investigation, in a word, the processes of what has been called the "detective school" of art criticism have greatly increased the labors of the actual student. Art literature has passed through its ages of faith, of personal inspiration, and has now entered into its age of inquiry.

This scientific research has profoundly modified the value of the notes to Mrs. Foster's Vasari since their publication in 1850. Not only have scores of "lost" works of art been found or accounted for, but the attributions of others have been changed, and documentary evidence has taken from some artists and given to others. Orgagna has lost the Loggia de' Lanzi, and Gaddi the Ponte Vecchio, while of late Signor Domenico Gnoli has even deprived Bramante of

the famous Cancelleria Palace, and the same author has nearly doubled our knowledge of Mino of Fiesole. The frescoes of Castiglione d' Olona have been discovered, and have been a fruitful source of controversy between various students of Masolino and Masaccio; Pinturicchio and the young Raphael have in like manner shared disputed works, important reconstructions have been made of monuments which had lain for centuries dispersed piecemeal about churches or in forgotten crypts, for instance the altar of Donatello at Padua or the *Cantorie* of the Florentine Duomo; builders have stumbled upon walled-up bas-reliefs, careless hands scraping the plaster have found precious frescoes underneath—witness the Villa Lemmi paintings now in the Louvre—and careful hands have uncovered other wall-pictures, whose presence beneath the white-wash had been traced or suspected; expert knowledge and mechanical skill of every kind have grown, pigments have been analyzed, the camera has detected unnoticed signatures, panel pictures which were rotting away have had a new existence accorded them upon canvas, and huge mural paintings have been sawn from the walls and transferred as if they were no larger than the altar-piece of an oratory.

Not only the works but the artists have been the subject of documentary investigation, and more than one story born of gossip and perpetuated by Vasari has been contradicted or modified by the evidence of the archives. Filippo Lippi is no longer the gay rake, the wanton betrayer of the nun Lucrezia, refusing the papal permission to marry her, but, on the contrary, appears as a man who gave up his ecclesiastical benefices and lived poor that he might profit by the dispensation of the Vatican and make Lucrezia his wife. Grave doubts are cast upon the accusation of embezzlement made against Andrea del Sarto; Perugino, the atheistical miser of Vasari, figures in the documents as a generous giver, bestowing time and work upon religious confraternities for little or no pay, while Andrea dal Castagno, who for four centuries has been held up as

the assassin of Domenico Veneziano, and as one who showed in every picture the evidence of that natural ferocity which prompted to murder, is now proved to have died several years before his supposed victim. These are but a few examples of the many modifications which documentary and other research have brought to the pages of art history through the thought and study of a group of archæologists, students, and critics. These men, whose scholarship is only equalled by their disinterested devotion to a cause that could yield no return in any way commensurate with the effort expended, have come from Germany and France, England and America, and even from Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, —most frequently, however, from Italy itself. They have searched those endless and wonderful sealed documents in the Archivio of Siena, the papers that pack the archives of the Florentine Uffizi, the letters, and parchments in the public, and in many of the private records of half the little towns of Italy. In the numbing cold of the Tuscan mountain cities, or in the damp winters of Lombardy, they have sat in the vast frigid stone halls, wearing out eyesight and patience in the deciphering of crabbed writing, separating the wheat from the chaff, and expending almost endless effort in the rectification of a single date or the collection of evidence collateral to this or that theory.

Nor has Italy been the only field; in the National Gallery of London, the Louvre, the collections of Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and Vienna; even in the far north men have studied, turning from picture or relief to the great national libraries, and have published the results of their investigations in finely illustrated monographs or annuaries. Other men have travelled east, west, north, and south, in these latter days, calling photography to their aid and establishing comparisons of the greatest value to the student. England was one of the first among the nations to admire and study the work of the old Italian masters, and Sir Joshua's cultus for Michelangelo and Titian antedates the enthusiasm of Goethe's *Reise*, Lessing's *Laocöon*, and

Winckelmann's study of classic art. These great Germans in their turn have been followed by a whole battalion of learned doctors, who have brought to their task the true Teutonic spirit of thoroughness and devotion to research. The French, with their sympathy for plastic art, and above all by their genius of presentation of subject, have given us, perhaps, the most intelligible, the most consultable, and the most enlightening of art books. For a long time Italians were reproached with having devoted but relatively little study to their masters, of having rather been satisfied with possession and unmindful of appreciation, but within twenty years such an impulse to art study has been given and sustained by natives of the Peninsula that to-day Italians stand in the very front rank of art investigators.

In the publishing of periodicals devoted to art the nations go hand in hand as well as in the possession of important and frequently revised catalogues of their great museums. The admirable *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* which presents every form of art, from the Pyramids to the latest phase exhibited at the Champ de Mars; the sumptuously illustrated *Jahrbuch* of the Prussian galleries, the equally sumptuous Austrian Annuary, the *Zeitschrift für bildende Künst, Die Graphischen Künste,* the *Repertorium für Künstwissenschaft; L'Art* and *Le Chronique des Arts, Le Courrier de l'Art,* are equally well known. England has the "Magazine of Art," and the "Art Journal;" while America, in the "American Journal of Archæology," possesses one of the best periodicals devoted to the history of art, especially of Ancient Art. Italy, besides its many local archæological publications, its *Archivio Storico Italiano,* its *Archivio Veneto, Archivio Lombardo,* its *Riviste* of this city or that learned society, began in 1888 to publish, under the direction of Signor Domenico Gnoli, an illustrated review, *L'Archivio Storico dell'Arte Italiana.* The numerous reproductions cannot vie with the more costly process pictures of the German and French reviews; but no other periodical is so exclusively consecrated to the

study of Italian art — the art of the Renaissance — and one may well echo its elder sister, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* in hailing *"la glorieuse existence"* of the Italian review.

In taking up the English contributions to the study of Italian art the great name of John Ruskin suggests itself at once among those of contemporaries; he first brought Giotto and his school to the attention of English-speaking readers, and led the latter among the fourteenth-century monuments of Florence and Venice; he taught them also to look at sea and mountains and sky with seeing eyes; for this last we cannot thank him too much. Most admirable as a poet, most reprehensible as a special pleader, many of his sophistries have entangled would-be learners in a maze from which they have never been extricated. As a dogmatist he has set up many stumbling-blocks and given a vicious direction to art literature by the substitution of the poetic method for the critical method, of rhapsody, anathema, diatribe, for investigation, comparison, and analysis. His magnificent style, gorgeous with Oriental images, blinded his readers to his confusion of thought, his strong prejudices, and the extreme narrowness of his plastic vision. In spite of his capacity for noble appreciation in certain directions, no great writer was ever less endowed with the critical faculty; but it may be truly said of him that, though he has often fiercely condemned the worthy he has never admired the unworthy. At about the same time that Mr. Ruskin wrote his earlier books, Mrs. Jameson, without possessing a great deal of either plastic sense or technical knowledge, was sincere and sympathetic in the expression of her enthusiasm, and Lord Lindsay in his volumes did much to promote the study of the *Giotteschi.*

In 1864 Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle commenced to publish their work upon Italian painting; as an exposition of the results of examining an enormous number of pictures in many countries, for descriptions of the said works, of their *technique,* their condition of preservation,

the drawings made as preparations for the works, these authors perhaps deserve the foremost place in the literature of art criticism ; their invaluable books are, however, marred by great obscurity of diction, and a somewhat confused arrangement, and the revised edition in Italian, now in course of publication, is clearer and easier of comprehension. The "Raphael" of the same authors is an admirable book, and their "Titian" is (together with *Le Titien* of M. Lafenestre) the most important contribution to the subject.

The books of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are published in two languages, and may be claimed by both England and Italy. Among Englishmen who have written during the last thirty years, and many of whom are still living, have been Sir Charles Eastlake and Sir A. H. Layard, each the annotator of an edition of Kugler's "Handbook ;" Sir J. C. Robinson, the author of publications upon the South Kensington Museum, the collections at Oxford, etc. ; Messrs. Sidney Colvin, J. Henry Middleton, and W. M. Rossetti, with their important articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and in English and foreign reviews, also Messrs. Fisher, Cosmo Monkhouse, Comyns Carr, and others.

Mr. Claude Phillips and Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes have done much, both in English and Italian, to keep us in touch with the most recent knowledge concerning Italian art works existing in the private and public collections of England. To this list of writers must be added the well-known name of Doctor J. P. Richter, famous as a special student of Leonardo, and author of an important work upon Italian art in the National Gallery as well as of many other articles and studies.

Besides these writers, most of whom approach their subject from the technical or the archæological side, or from the point of view of that new school of analytical criticism which for convenience may be called the Morellian, there are those essayists whose charm of style and sympathy with the spirit of art give them a wider public of readers than is accorded to those who are more strictly specialists ; such

are Walter Pater and John Addington Symonds and Vernon Lee (Miss Violet Paget).

Symonds, a careful student of documents, as well as a poet in his sympathy with one whole side of art (and that an important one) has left perhaps his best work in the life of Michelangelo. In his admirable "History of the Renaissance," which in some respects follows closely upon the line of Burckhardt's, *Der Cultur der Renaissance,* his single volume upon the Fine Arts is rather a philosophical essay than a history of the various schools, and the charm of Symonds's style, his sympathetic comprehension of the loveliness of Italy and of the national character of her art, is felt nowhere more completely than in his shorter studies and sketches. No author writes of Italian art more vividly or with more stimulating effect on the mind of her reader than Vernon Lee, whose pungent, forceful essays are steeped in the very spirit of the Renaissance and in the atmosphere of Italy.

America is young in the field of research; but besides her "American Journal of Archæology," edited by Doctors Allan Marquand and A. L. Frothingham, Jr., she has scholars of long-established reputation in Messrs. Charles Eliot Norton, James Jackson Jarves, and W. J. Stillman. Mr. Jarves's enthusiasm obtained for Yale College an excellent collection of the very early masters of Italy, and Mr. Stillman's series of papers upon the Italian painters in the "Century Magazine" is accompanied by an admirable series of wood-engravings executed by a sincere student of Italian art, as well as a master of his craft, Mr. Timothy Cole.

In the late Charles C. Perkins America possessed a scholar of whom she may be proud; his "Tuscan Sculptors" and "Handbook of Italian Sculpture" were solid contributions to the understanding of a branch of art which at the time he wrote had been but little studied; his *Ghiberti et son École,* published in Paris in French, is also an excellent book. Mr. Bernhard Berenson is well known through his studies upon Florentine and Venetian painters (containing im-

portant catalogues of their works), his articles in various periodicals, and his important monograph upon Lorenzo Lotto. Mr. Charles Loeser is another American whose studies in special directions have been recognized as valuable, and Professor Allan Marquand has interested himself particularly in the work of the Della Robbia school. Mr. Frederic Crowninshield has contributed an excellent book, "Mural Decoration," and the very recent works of Professor Hamlin and Mr. Longfellow and the valuable historical study by Mr. Russell Sturgis on "European Architecture" include the architecture of the Italian Renaissance.

The French are *par excellence* the makers of those best of art books in which clearness of style, plastic feeling, systematized knowledge, and numerous illustrations, made after the latest processes, combine to elucidate the subject. The voluminous history edited by Charles Blanc, though eloquent and entertaining, has been practically superseded. A. F. Rio (*De l'Art Chrétien*), a still earlier writer, contributed a work of interest, but was so fanatically attached to what he considered the spiritual side of painting that he treated Giotto as a mere materialist, and went to the school of Siena for all pure inspiration.

The historico-philosophical method, applied to the study of Mediæval and Renaissance Art, among Germans by Kugler, and followed by Burckhardt, the psychological side studied by Stendhal with so much comprehension of the Italian nature, were both developed with wide sympathetic appreciation—philosophical, historical, psychological—and with astonishing picturesqueness of diction by Taine in his *Philosophie de l'Art* and in his *Voyage en Italie*. No one has given us pages more colored, more inspiring, more true in the highest sense, and no one has shown a more catholic comprehension, a more liberal sympathy for all forms of plastic art. No book is more fitted than is the *Voyage en Italie* to induce in the tyro a healthy and intelligent enthusiasm for Italian art.

The most complete and available general history of the art of the Renaissance existing in any language is probably that of M. Eugène Müntz. The three large volumes upon Italy have appeared, and will be followed by those upon France, Germany, Spain, and England. In any work treating of the plastic arts, the elucidative importance of good illustrations reproducing the buildings, statues, and pictures mentioned, cannot be over-estimated, and M. Müntz's volumes contain many hundreds of excellent process reproductions of the actual monuments, his critical appreciations are clear, and his historical and biographical matter cover a period stretching from the early Italian Renaissance to the end of the sixteenth century. M. Müntz has been indefatigable as a publisher of documents, and is the author of a great number of important works, and a frequent contributor to periodical literature. A short but admirable history of Italian Art, indeed a model in its way, is that by M. Georges Lafenestre. His is a capital example of the French capacity for real art criticism, and the possession of plastic sense of a high order, as distinguished from that critical appreciation which is based principally upon either archæological research, or literary sense, or both.

Other well-balanced and enlightening critics are Paul Mantz (*Les Chefs-d'Œuvre de la peinture italienne, Andrea Mantegna, Andrea del Sarto,* etc.); Armand Baschet, who was a notable discoverer of documentary evidence (see his Mantuan investigations), and M. Charles Yriarte, who has written of patrons and artists at once, of Malatesta, Gonzaga, Borgia, — of Matteo da Civitale and Agostino da Duccio; M. Louis Gonse, Director of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* M. Anatole de Montaiglon, André Pérate, E. Plon, are authors of studies or monographs. The Vicomte Henri Delaborde has treated of the Italian engravers; M. Charles Ephrussi has given his attention rather to the drawings of the masters; M. Charles Clément has been one of the historians of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Leonardo. Among other authors are M. Gustave Gruyer, M. Anatole Gruyer,

the indefatigable student of Raphael; M. Ravaisson-Mollien, and M. Houssaye, with their works upon Leonardo da Vinci. In the direction of sculpture the late Louis Courajod was an eminent critic. M. Molinier has written specially of the Della Robbia school, as also of Italian bronzes, of the decorative arts of Venice, etc., while M. Marcel Reymond has given his attention to those early schools of Italian sculpture which are especially represented in Florence, Orvieto, Pisa, and Siena.

The Germans are natural archæologists, enthusiastic excavators in the mines of recorded facts, and the name of their art contributors is legion, their great periodicals, which have been mentioned above, affording them a wide field for publication. Von Rumohr's *Forschungen* was one of the earliest special works. Passavant and Grimm, as the historians respectively of Raphael and Michelangelo, became famous. Gregorovius has written learnedly of the historic background; Franz Kugler was perhaps the first among the Germans to treat Italian art from a point of view at once philosophical and historical, and his pupil, Dr. Jacob Burckhardt, has embraced all sides of the epoch of the revival in his "Culture of the Renaissance," his "History of the Renaissance in Italy," and lastly in his "Cicerone," that unique book which, says M. Auguste Gerard, is at once a topography, a history, and a criticism of the monuments of antique and modern art in Italy. General histories of Italian art have been written by Dr. W. Von Lübke, E. Foerster, and by Herrn Woltmann and Woermann in collaboration; Kugler's "Handbook" is well known, and Dr. Dohme's series of artists' biographies, the *Künst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* is the united work of many contributors. Dr. W. Bode is an eminent representative of later art literature, who has edited two editions of the "Cicerone," made, together with Herr von Tschudi, the catalogue of the Berlin Museum, published important books upon the sculpture of the Italian Renaissance, and written many articles for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* as well as for German periodicals.

Anton Springer is the classic German authority upon Michelangelo and Raphael, and a general history is now appearing under his name. Herr August Von Schmarsow has written much of the sculptor Donatello, the painters Raphael, Pinturicchio, Melozzo, and especially of sculptors. Herr Semper's *Donatello* is an important monograph, as is also that upon Botticelli by Dr. H. Ulmann. Other well-known names are those of Herr Frey, whose editions of selected lives from Vasari are scholarly; Herr Dollmayr, with important studies upon Raphael in the Austrian Annuary for 1896; Thausing, Janitschek, Schultz (for southern Italy), Mündler, Gronau, Winterberg, Von Liphart, Bayersdorffer, Karl Brun, Dobbert, Lützow, Wickhoff, who has written especially upon drawings; Jansen, the historian of Soddoma; Vischer, the student of Signorelli; Harzen, Hittorf, Max Jordan, Portheim, Meyer, whose life of Correggio is well known; Müller-Walde, the critic of Leonardo; Nagler, Schmidt, Redtenbacher, Schorn, Von Seidletz, Schnaase, Simonsfeld, Waagen, who has written upon Mantegna and Signorelli; Wolzogen, a student of Raphael; Thode, who has treated the earlier epoch of Italian art, and Von Tschudi, author of special studies published both in German and Italian. Baron Henri Von Geymüller has devoted a great part of his life to the study of Bramante, and has published works of the greatest importance, such as *Die Ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom* (German and French editions), on Raphael as architect, and Tuscan architecture of the Renaissance, while Herr Cornelius Von Fabriczy has contributed the latest and best work upon Brunelleschi, and Herr Schmarsow has written upon Michelozzi.

With the Italians the succession of art historians and archæologists has not failed from the fifteenth century down to our own times. First there are the works of the artists themselves, Ghiberti, Cennini, Alberti, Piero della Francesca, Leonardo da Vinci, Cellini, and others; last, and most important as historian, Vasari; next come Giovio with his "Lives," Albertini with his *Memoriale*, Pacioli with his

scientific studies, the excellent Michieli (the *Anonimo* of Morelli), and more than one other "Anonymus;" Ridolfi with his *Meraviglie,* Dolce with his *Dialogo,* Borghini with his *Riposo,* and Lomazzo with his *Treatise,* are contemporaneous or early sources. A hiatus of more than a century and a half brings us to Bottari's Vasari (1759), Della Valle's Vasari (1797), to Cicognara, Baldinucci, DaMorrona, Lanzi, and Milizia, to the engravings of Lasinio, Toschi, and Longhi. Between 1846 and 1857, Pini, the Marchese Selvatico, and the brothers Milanesi completed their important Lemonnier-Vasari, with copious annotations, and a revised edition by Gaetano Milanesi appeared between 1878 and 1883.

These two editions of Vasari, together with the Sienese studies of Milanesi and Gaye's *Carteggio,* laid a solid foundation of documentary evidence and scientific method upon which other students could base further researches. All of this laborious work, requiring as it did patient devotion, critical acumen, and complete pecuniary disinterestedness, cannot be too highly estimated. Matter of great value was also contributed by the various Italian archæological societies and by the learned and voluminous *Storia della Pittura Italiana,* which, as the joint production of Signor J. Cavalcaselle and the late Sir J. A. Crowe, was given to both English and Italian publics.

In 1874 appeared the first essays of Morelli. Although an Italian and native of Bergamo he published his first work (*Ein kritischer Versuch von Ivan Lermolieff, ins Deutsche übersetzt von Johannes Schwartz* [1880]) in German and under the pseudonym of Ivan Lermolieff (a Russianized rearrangement of the letters in the name Giovanni Morelli). His theories were based upon an experimental analysis of pictures. The work of every painter is undoubtedly a double product of his impressions obtained from observation of nature and of impressions derived from his master. All of these impressions are modified by the personality of the painter himself, but Morelli pointed out that there are cer-

tain features in man as well as in nature generally, which are less variable (or more subtly varied) than others, and which the artist is therefore less likely to carefully observe and differentiate. The critic chose as his crucial features the hand and ear. By observing minutely the treatment of these in a very great number of pictorial examples he accumulated sufficient data to assure him (to his own satisfaction) of the authorship of many hitherto unknown pictures, and to justify him in changing the attribution of many works already catalogued. He did not neglect the study of other details, and observed not only color, drawing, drapery, but even the nature of the wood, canvas, preparation, varnish, and pigment. The English editions are "Italian Masters in German Galleries," London, 1883; "Italian Painters," London, 1892. Though well translated by Mrs. L. P. Richter and Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes, they are not very readable, but are well worth reading. Their effect is somewhat impaired by their controversial character. The conclusions are at times arbitrary, and the author occasionally employs the kind of reasoning which he finds unconvincing in those who hold opinions contrary to his own. He objects strongly to a critic's being influenced greatly by the spiritual impression of a work, and claims that only minute comparison will afford a basis for conclusion. To this statement it may be replied that a work of art often has a significance which partakes *at one and the same time* of the spiritual and the technical, and in the discussion of such work true solution probably falls somewhere between the analysis of Morelli and the conclusions of other critics who are less rigidly inductive. In short, if Morelli is more reliable in a case of classification, the remarks of such men as Paul Mantz, M. Lafenestre, M. Müntz are often more illuminating and characterize the work more completely, which is to say, more truly.

To catalogue and date a work correctly is undoubtedly important. It is by showing the links in the chain of art that its evolution is demonstrated in its entirety. To the

student of schools, of the ramifications of artistic influences attenuated to their most distant and feeble results, Morelli's books are invaluable. To the student of masterpieces and of the main characteristics and great personalities of a school, to those lovers of pictures who are content to sometimes keep the question of authorship in abeyance to the value of the work as a general effect, who consider the picture *per se* as its maker and his contemporaries did, for the visual pleasure that it imparts, certain other critics are more inspiring. It is but just to state that some of the most eminent of living authorities disagree with Morelli in certain instances and accept his assertions with great caution in others; but on the other hand it must be admitted that Morelli has not only catalogued minor works, but has altered the attribution of some masterpieces and has obtained for many of his changes almost a consensus of critical opinion. He is a remarkable and original figure in criticism, and as Mr. Claude Phillips has remarked "there is at present no possible return to a pre-Morellian state of criticism." Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni is an eminent representative of this modern school in Italy, his, *Arte Italiana del Rinascimento,* Milan, 1891, his work on the Morelli collection are well known, and he is a frequent contributor to the periodical literature of art.

The Italians are not only students of their national art, but as its natural warders enjoy exceptional opportunities, having at one hand the plastic documents of the galleries, and at the other the written documents of the archives. Eminent critics have charge of more than one great collection; Signor Adolfo Venturi is the head of the National Galleries, and Signor Corrado Ricci, the director of the Gallery of Parma, has written the recent important monograph upon Parma's chief glory, Correggio; Signor Enrico Ridolfi is another eminent authority. Other famous writers of special monographs and articles for the reviews have been, or are, Signori Luigi Passerini, Umberto Rossi, Adamo Rossi, Mongeri, Minghetti, Bertolotti, Gualandi, Cecchetti, Domen-

ico Gnoli, the editor-in-chief of *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,* and a special student in many directions; Aurelio Gotti (author of the *Michelangelo*), Luca Beltrami, Pietro Gianuizzi, Campori, Nardini Despotti Mospignotti, Alessandro Luzio, Cesare Guasti, Paolo Fontana, C. Cavalucci, P. Molmenti, N. Baldoria, Camillo Boito (editor of the magnificent folio work upon San Marco, and director of *L' Arte Decorativa e Industriale Italiana*), Mancini, and Paoletti. Among the writers for or reviewed in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana* are Signori Argnani, Davari, Giordani (art in the province of Emilia), Melani, d' Adda (art in the province of Milan), d' Arco (especially upon Mantuan art), Cittadella, Calzini, Gloria (especially upon Donatello), Carotti, Marcotti, Cantalamessa, Maruti, Grassi, and Supino, the latter an enthusiastic student of the early Tuscan sculptors, particularly of Giovanni Pisano. In this list only the protagonists have been mentioned, and the men noted are in every case the authors of more works than those recorded here. Each month adds to the long list of articles published in English, French, German, and Italian, so that a complete abstract of the work done and doing in the field of Renaissance Art would exceed the space which can be accorded to the notes in these volumes.

It is, however, the desire of the editors to emphasize the copiousness and great interest of this literature, and to call to the attention of the reading public the fact that a band of special students, critics, and archæologists is working in this field and contributing invaluably to the history of Italian Art. The notes to these volumes are largely made up from the opinions and discoveries of these men, and the editors have endeavored in every case to credit the source from which they have drawn information, and desire to acknowledge their special indebtedness to the notes of the late Cavaliere Gaetano Milanesi, editor of the last Florentine edition of Vasari's "Lives"; to the work of MM. Müntz, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Symonds, and indeed to the many critics and students who have been cited or quoted in the

following notes. To the examination of original documents in state or town archives, or to the deciphering of manuscripts, the editors of these volumes lay no claim whatsoever, but they have tried to state impartially the differing opinions of many investigators of the archives. On the other hand, in all matters of a purely artistic nature the editors have not hesitated to express themselves, since during the course of many visits (some of them protracted) to Italy they have seen and examined, in cities large and small, most of the still existing works of art which Vasari mentions.

Great as is the obligation owed by the art-lover to the critics and students who have created for him a whole literature, both he and they are still more deeply indebted to the discovery of those photographic processes which have utterly changed the character of the data for study. When Mrs. Foster made her translation, only the adventurous traveller willing to fare roughly, or else the wealthy tourist with his coach and postilions, was able to see the art works of Italy. Occasional artists, professional or amateur, made drawings which showed picture or statue modified by their own personality and capacity; these drawings were subjected to a second interpretation, through engraving sixteenth-century art was taught to speak with a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century accent, and the results were published in costly folios or quartos.

To-day a more faithful reproduction can be bought in a ten-cent weekly than could be obtained for any money fifty years ago. In the study of the plastic arts even a poor photograph is worth more than pages of description, and the fine results attained by the Alinari, of Florence, Braun-Clément and Co., Hanfstaengel, Anderson, Brogi, and other photographers enable the stay-at-home student of to-day to have within his reach what the man of half a century ago could not hope to compass in a lifetime of travel, or by the expenditure of a fortune. The most complete and admirable collection of photographic reproductions of art works existing in the

museums, churches, streets, palaces, and squares of the Peninsula is that of the Alinari Brothers, of Florence, comprising large and small reproductions of architecture, sculpture, painting, mosaic, enlarged architectural detail, in all the important cities, big and little, between Naples and the Alps, so that their catalogues of Rome, Florence, and of the various provinces, Milanese, Venetian, Umbrian, etc., form a stout volume. The photographs of Brogi are also excellent. Anderson in Rome has made many reproductions which are of especial interest to the student and scholar. Lombardi in Siena, Marcozzi in Milan, the Fotografia dell' Emilia in Bologna, have made large local collections, while the splendid photographs of Braun in Paris, reproduce the Italian works in the great continental galleries, and the admirable work of Hanfstaengel and others is devoted especially to pictures in the German museums.

But no classified collection of photographs, no library of special works, can replace a knowledge of Italy itself. To have become familiar with the originals of the reproductions, the subjects of the essays and studies, through long sojourns in, and many visits to, the towns, great and small, of Italy and Sicily, is the best of art educations. A year in Tuscany, a spring in Umbria, a sojourn in Lombardy or Venetia, will bring the student into closer sympathy with Italian art than months spent in libraries or picture galleries. To study the "Lives" in the library is good; to follow the artists, with Gossip Vasari for guide, through the Roman churches and palaces, the narrow alleys of old Florence, the water-ways of Venice, and the steep streets of Umbrian towns, is better; to know by heart, through much contemplation, through passionate appreciation, the noble and beautiful works of the men whose lives Vasari recorded is best. To the special student of the biographies a prolonged stay in Italy, or at least in Tuscany, is indispensable. Although he was a native of Arezzo, Vasari's Italian is that of Florence —colloquial, familiar, racy, rich in allusions to local customs, filled with Florentine proverbs and quaint turns of

speech — and he took it for granted that his reader had lived within the sound of the big bell in Giotto's tower.

A practical art education, an acquaintance with technical processes, is of no small service to the annotator of Vasari. To have handled the tools, to have manipulated the material, to be of the same craft, though the humblest of the brotherhood, is to enjoy a special kind of comprehension of the old masters, and the artist who through his training is familiar with the media by which the men of Vasari expressed their thought, enjoys a closer communion with them than the most diligent compiler of documents.

Finally, as the result of these studies of Vasari's "Lives" the editors would express their conviction that a knowledge of the Italian school of art is valuable beyond that of any other modern school—great as are the artists of Flanders, Spain, Germany, France, and England—because in the Renaissance only we have the example of the complete evolution of a national art, from its birth, through its upgrowth, to its culmination and decadence, so that for art in its most monumental manifestation even the countrymen of Dürer, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Velasquez, turn to Leonardo, Correggio, and Titian, to Raphael and to Michelangelo, the men of the Italy of Vasari.

New York, November, 1896.

GIORGIO VASARI

I

THE Most Illustrious Cardinal Farnese, the beloved grandson of the reigning pope, the patron of arts and letters, the friend of the learned, and the lover of antiquity, was at supper.

The meal was a ceremony in the household of this prince of the Church ; it meant not only ortolans and Greek wines, a boar's head horrent with burnt-sugar bristles, the classic peacock in its feathers, but a levee and a reception as well. It was at supper that the Cardinal gave audience to his familiars, and to the humanists, the envoys, the buffoons, the artists, the charlatans, the traders, and the priests, who sought the good graces of one so powerful at the papal court. True the position of Pope's favorite was not quite what it had been before the meddling German monk and his countrymen had begun to pry into sacerdotal affairs, and make a trifle of dissimulation a disagreeable necessity; but no Riario or della Rovere, no son or nephew of Sixtus IV. or Alexander VI., kept a finer court or spread a more sumptuous table than did Cardinal Farnese.

In 1546 it was still possible for a churchman to frankly savor the pleasures of life even with a Council of Trent already assembled, and for Paul III. and his relatives—especially his relatives—to "enjoy the Papacy which God had given" him. The Papacy could be enjoyed after many different fashions. Rome, now that Florence was crushed, Venice despoiled, and Milan invaded, was the true centre of Italy, the intellectual *urbs;* in spite of recalcitrant English and heretic Germans Peter's pence flowed into the

treasury, the trade in indulgences was still brisk, though the northern markets were quiet, and the Pope, being still of the opinion that "God wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should *pay* and live," had established a regular tariff for crimes suited to persons in moderate circumstances. Some idea of the result of such general enjoyment may be obtained from the facts that the beggars filled one whole quarter of the city, and that a professional cutthroat could be hired for from ten to four *scudi* a single murder, though there was naturally a reduction in price when a quantity of assassinations was ordered. The Eternal City was a huge caravansary, to it came everyone who had something to sell—tongue, pen, brush, or sword —and where all the delectable commodities of earth were on sale as well as the spiritual delights of heaven.

It was therefore a mixed company that gathered about the long table, with its laced linen and its chiselled plate, when the heat of the day was over and a breeze from Ostia had begun to cool the tepid marbles of the Cardinal's palace. There was an Arab horse-dealer who had come to offer a choice lot of white mules to his Eminence; there was a worn, tired, young painter, who had just finished a series of frescoes in the Cancelleria; there was a peasant, looking like a faun in his short cloak and goat-skin breeches, carrying something that he had unearthed only yesterday in his vineyard—an antique bust with the earth still clinging to the arched lips and the waves of the hair; there were envoys from all the different Italian states, diplomats more famous for their orations and their scholarship than their statecraft; a sleek Oriental, with a brown, tightly rolled MS. from a Greek convent; a famous goldsmith, bringing a wax model for a jewelled cope-clasp, and two or three couriers with sealed letters.

In places of honor was a fair sprinkling of churchmen, easily distinguished by their noble breadth of girdle and their strongly marked faces, heavy of feature, subtle of expression; and a group of famous scholars. There was Clau-

dio Tolomei, the purist; Annibale Caro, whose translation of Daphnis and Chloe, and whose discourse on Noses were the delight of the learned and polite; Paolo Giovio, collector, art-critic, and art-lover, most venal and most candid of biographers, who warned his readers that in his "Notices" he had praised only those of his contemporaries who had made it worth his while; there, too, was a tragic figure, a man still young, spilling the sauces on his doublet, mumbling in his speech, and groping blindly with shaking hands for the wine; this was Molza, the poet, author of the *Ninfa Tiberina*, once the daintiest of fine gentlemen, the lover of famous and beautiful women, who, dying of slow paralysis, still clung feebly to the world he loved.

Following the example of the Pope, who honored learning and the learned, and who had given the red hat to three famous humanists, the Cardinal was graciousness itself to the scholars. It was toward them that he most frequently turned his dark, handsome head, and to their rather lengthy speeches (for as is customary with the erudite they discoursed rather than conversed) he listened, not only with courtesy but with evident pleasure. On this particular evening he had chosen to question Monsignore Giovio regarding his "Museum" of celebrated men.

This gallery of portraits, which Giovio had collected from many different sources, and which was divided into three sections, viz., scholars and poets; artists; sovereigns, princes, and generals; was the pride of its owner. It contained many treasures, among them the portrait of Aretino by Titian, now in the Uffizi, and that of Mohammed II. by Gentile Bellini. It may readily be imagined how exhaustively Giovio would treat his favorite topic before so sympathetic an audience. When he had done ample justice to the portraits he announced his intention of completing the biographical studies he had made in connection with them by a treatise on the men who had distinguished themselves in the arts of design. He then, for those were times of unlimited leisure, when colloquial tyranny was unresented

and the monologue was a social institution, proceeded to sketch the plan of his work and to enlarge upon the details, talking of this, that, and the other painter or sculptor, of their birthplaces, their families, and their works in a way that deeply impressed his hearers.

In the pause that followed one well-rounded period the Cardinal turned to a slight, alert-looking young man in a sad-colored doublet and asked:

"What think you, Giorgio, would not this be a noble work?"

The painter, who came every evening to his patron's supper, often found the conversation of the learned as dry and insipid as the peacock roasted in its feathers which ornamented the table. It was only when a cameo or an antique coin was handed about, or a trader or peasant came with treasure-trove for the Cardinal's inspection, or San Gallo's plans for the new palace were examined, or Giulio Clovio's miniatures for his Eminence's manuscripts were admired that he ventured to give an opinion. He had listened to Giovio's plans with interest, yet with the resigned, long-suffering expression characteristic of the artist who is inured to hearing his own craft discussed by the lettered and the erudite. To the Cardinal's question, "Would not this be a noble work?" he replied, quietly:

"Very fine indeed, Most Illustrious, provided Giovio were assisted by someone who is an artist to put things in their right places, and to relate them as they really happened. I say this because, though his discourse was excellent, he has changed many things, and often put one thing in the place of another."

To this the Cardinal answered, after listening to the eager suggestions of Caro, Giovio, Tolomei, and the others, "Could you not then give him a summary and a classified list of all the artists, arranged in order, whereby you would also advance the arts."

The painter may have thought with a sigh of the frescoes in the hall of the Chancery that he was painting against

time, of the family in Arezzo to be provided for, of the orders to be executed post-haste for impatient patrons, most of all of the hours of unremunerative labor which such an undertaking implied, but he answered, steadily:

"Most Illustrious, though I know that this task is too great for my poor powers, I promise to perform it as well as I am able."

The man who undertook this work was Giorgio Vasari, and the task was the famous "Lives."

II

The form and spirit of any work, artistic or literary, depend upon the conditions under which it is produced; first, its material environment; next, the predominant ideas of the epoch, the mental atmosphere which surrounds the worker; and, finally, the personal character of the individual producer. Some preliminary study of these conditions is necessary to an intelligent comprehension of Vasari's "Lives."

In 1546, when Vasari began to classify those notes and memoranda which he had, "moved by love for these our artists," been collecting since his boyhood, the creative impulse of the Renaissance was already exhausted. Painting, which had culminated between the years 1470 and 1540, was on the decline, except in Venice. The great masters, save Michelangelo, had passed away. Raphael had been dead twenty-four years, Leonardo twenty-two, Correggio twelve, Andrea del Sarto fifteen; Giulio Romano died in the year that Vasari commenced his work, Perino del Vaga, and del Piombo in the following year. Benvenuto Cellini was working for, and bickering with, the Pope. Beccafumi, Garofalo, Giovanni da Udine, Daniele da Volterra were painting; Paul Veronese and Tintoretto were still young. Sansovino and Titian were in their vigorous old age, and Michelangelo had finished the "Last Judgment" only five years before.

There was no lack of art patrons in spite of the invasion, pillage, and sack that Italy had suffered ever since the first French expedition in 1494. The duel between France and Spain had ended in the victory of the latter, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the Peninsula was comparatively quiet. Naples was cowed; Cosimo, in Florence, had made "a desolation and called it peace;" Siena was guarded by a Spanish garrison; Venice, though robbed of her subject cities, was still free, and Milan was tranquil under the Spaniard's rule. The Farnese were all-powerful in Rome, Parma, and Piacenza, and the Estensi in Ferrara, the Gonzaghe in Mantua, and the della Rovere in Urbino were enjoying their duchies under imperial protection.

Though the spirit of Italy had been transformed there were few visible signs of the great change that had come to her. The Inquisition was peering through the eyelet-holes of its mask at MS. and printed book, and even painted panel or canvas. Men had begun to adopt the sombre Spanish habit as though they mourned the loss of political and intellectual liberty; elegant poets made gentle, elegiac moan in impeccable Latin verse over the national servitude; and certain cities—Prato, Florence, and Rome—still showed the scars of Spanish torch and steel. The majority of Italians, however, feeling that Italy was the queen of the civilized world, were convinced that she had conquered her conquerors, and from this belief sprang a moral serenity, a preoccupation with the arts and letters in the face of national disaster, while a vague cosmopolitanism replaced the old regional patriotism of the republics.

The Italians had eaten the fruit of the tree of knowledge. In the realm of art and literature they had ceased to feel keenly and begun to reflect; judgment was checking impulse, the force of sentiment was yielding to the dominion of criticism, analysis was paralyzing action, and when calculation had definitely triumphed over emotion, science, the last manifestation of Italian genius, appeared.

It was the good fortune of Vasari to live and write at

a time when the creative epoch was passing away and an age of inquiry had just commenced. By the middle of the sixteenth century the fine arts had run their course (except in Venice); but though the giants had come and gone and left behind them academies, schools, imitators, and mannerists, the harvest had been so abundant that men could long enjoy the aftermath. No gloomy forecast of future artistic sterility overshadows Vasari's pages, he is as free from depression as he is from self-consciousness. It must also be borne in mind that the plastic feeling was developed all over Italy, and if it failed in one direction it reappeared in another, thus creating an illusive appearance of perennial growth. Vasari saw no reason to doubt that the masters whose arts and works he recorded would be followed by a long line of worthy successors. The cosmopolitanism which was an element of political weakness was a potent factor in a history of art, in which also the critical spirit which was paralyzing individual endeavor found a legitimate and fruitful field of action. In a word, the stage of national evolution which was unfavorable to artistic production was eminently calculated to foster an analytical study of such production.

To the readers of Vasari art was an important source of personal gratification and an absorbing intellectual interest; to be surrounded by its various manifestations had become a part of the Italian's ideal of life, and the historian of craftsmen who had so greatly increased the sum of human happiness felt assured of public sympathy with his work. It is superfluous to remind the reader how thoroughly by the middle of the sixteenth century art had permeated human existence; and of the solidarity of feeling which united patrons, public, and artists. The art historian therefore was sure of his audience, he was under no pedagogic necessity to explain or instruct, he spoke a common language; a community of ideas and aspirations bound him to his readers and his fellow-workers.

Long before Vasari turned author the artists had written

of their own craft. Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Ghiberti, Piero della Francesca, Alberti, and Francesco di Giorgio, and later, Vignole, Serlio, and Cellini, had produced treatises, technical, descriptive, mathematical, and autobiographical; but these fragmentary works, written from a special point of view, could afford no precedent to Vasari for the form or the spirit of his book.

In earlier and more productive times eclecticism, sympathetic comprehension of warring æsthetic ideals, that indispensable element of the critic's mental equipment, was lacking. Enlightened appreciation, or rather true art criticism, had just begun to appear in the work of Paolo Giovio and of that blackguardly æsthete Aretino, who averred "that it is not necessary to belong to the guild in order to speak of art matters." It was the spirit of the age, of its extension of plastic sympathies, of its Catholic enthusiasms for varying forms of art that Vasari voiced in his generous appreciations of artists, schools, and manners.

III

Vasari, who left long and minute descriptions of the cold and commonplace pictures that he manufactured by the yard, dismissed the "Lives" with a few summary notices. A short time after he had promised the Cardinal to undertake the work Vasari, who loved effort as most men love ease, put his notes and memoranda together and took them to Paolo Giovio. The genial scholar, after much praise of them, persuaded the painter to attempt the work himself, assuring him that he, Giovio, had neither the historical data nor the technical knowledge for such a task, and that judging from the notes Vasari had brought he would succeed admirably. Encouraged by Caro, Molza, and Tolomei, Giorgio somewhat reluctantly began the work, and the following year sent a portion of it to Caro, who wrote to Vasari in December of the year 1547, with that kindliness which the professional writer has generally shown

to the artist who ventures to use the pen. In this letter Caro, a most elegant stylist says: "You have given me much pleasure, in letting me see a part of the commentary that you have written on the artists. I have read it with much pleasure, and it seems to me worthy to be read by everyone for the sake of the memory of many admirable men, and for the knowledge of many things and various times that one obtains from it; it seems to me also well written in a good style. I only desire that the place of certain words should be changed, and of certain verbs that are put at the ends of the sentences for the sake of elegance, which weary me. In a work like this one should write as one talks, using one's own language, not the metaphorical or the unusual, employing current rather than far-fetched phrases. And this is done only in a few places which in re-reading I will note, and which you can easily correct. As for the rest, I rejoice with you that you have done a noble and useful work."

In the same year, 1547, the "Lives" were completed and "nothing remained but to put them into good shape." At this time Vasari made the acquaintance of Don Gian Matteo Faetani, Abbot of Santa Maria di Scolca in Rimini, "a lettered and ingenious person" who promised to correct the work and to have it copied by one of his monks who was an excellent caligraph. Three years later the first edition of the "Lives" appeared, published by Lorenzo Torrentini, in Florence. In 1566–67, during a leave of absence given him by the duke, Vasari revisited many Italian towns, and afterward corrected and amplified the first edition of the "Lives," of which a second edition, printed by Giunti, was ready in 1568. He had taken Caro's advice and adopted a familiar and colloquial style, but the familiar style of the sixteenth century is not that of the nineteenth.

There is in all the products of the Renaissance something of deliberation, stateliness, and dignity; labor-saving methods were unknown; time was not economized. Men had not yet adopted the short cut in literature; they liked fine

periods and willingly sacrificed vivacity to nobility. Our popular journalistic style would have seemed vulgar and cheap to them. We could easily condense half a dozen of their phrases into one short sentence, but to the writers of the Renaissance, accustomed to appeal to the ear as well as to the eye, and to the rhythm of nicely balanced periods, such a sentence would seem as euphonious as the sharp crack of a whip or the sputter of a packet of fire-crackers.

Life was more spacious then; men's minds, like their houses, were not so crowded as they have become since, and he who had wisdom to impart, or a story to tell, was not obliged to boil it down to an essence, or serve it in capsules. One was introduced to a topic much as one was presented to a prince; literature had its monumental staircases and its lofty ante-chambers, its guards and lackeys. A theme was approached gradually and the reader prepared to receive it. Naturally enough, then, Vasari was liberal of prefaces and introductions; each life was preceded by reflections, generally of an ethical character, all marked by good common-sense and a not too-lofty moral standard. It may be that "the ingenious and lettered Abbot of Santa Maria di Scolca" was responsible for some of these sententious platitudes, though they do not differ either in style or character from the rest of the work.

But this deliberation does not imply lack of movement or color, the "Lives" are filled with them; the language is that of Florence, with its racy colloquialisms, its contractions, its proverbial philosophy. The comparisons and illustrations are drawn from contemporary Tuscan life. Vasari takes it for granted that his reader has loitered and gossiped under the shrine lamps on the famous corners (*Canti*) of Florence, has caught and caged crickets on Ascension Day, has crunched wafers on the Calzoleria, and has heard the cicadas shrilling among the thick-tufted trees in the villa gardens on hot afternoons. So penetrated are they with the Florentine atmosphere that in reading these pages one seems to hear the sonorous, cadenced, Tuscan speech; to

smell the odor of fried cheese, tanned leather, wood-smoke, and *formi* that haunts the narrow streets of the old quarters; to see again the frowning house-walls, with their iron-barred windows and their nail-studded doors, the lintels carved with rows of shields or pots of lilies and carnations, and here and there, "like a downfallen bit of the sky," a *lunette* of blue and white Robbia-ware.

What warmth and vitality this vivid local color imparts to the biographies! With Vasari and his people we visit every corner of Florence; we climb the stairs of the Palazzo Vecchio, we hobnob with Duke Cosimo in his study among his treasures, we chaffer for eggs and fruit in the old market, we watch the fight between Republicans and Mediceans in the square, we sup in the Piazza of the Nunziata with all the madcap artists in Florence, we walk in the funeral procession of Michelangelo to Santa Croce, we peep into Giotto's house in the Via de' Servi, and enter Donatello's *bottega* near the cathedral, we loiter in Ghirlandajo's shop in the Calzoleria, we pace the cloisters of San Marco with Fra Angelico; the convent doors open for us and we lean over Sister Plautilla Nelli's easel; the Medici palace has no secrets for us, and we see Duke Alexander in full armor and state-mantle posing for Vasari, or the young Catherine de' Medici, paint-brush in hand, chasing the good Giorgio down the long corridor; we can study Masaccio with the young painters in the quiet chapel of the Brancacci, and in the great hall of the old palace, while the factions are fighting outside we can watch the students dividing Michelangelo's cartoon for the battle of Pisa, into coveted fragments; the young Raphael, just come from Urbino with letters from his duchess to the *Gonfaloniere*, leads us to the palace of his hosts in the Via de' Ginori, and gorgeous in brocade and jewels Leonardo da Vinci rides by on one of his fiery horses.

Michelet defined history as a resurrection of the past. With Vasari the historian's task is made easy, and the author speaks so well for himself that comment often seems

superfluous, almost impertinent. He possessed the power, which was denied to so many of his learned contemporaries, of making his people seem alive and real. It is this vitality that distinguishes his biographies from those of Vespasiano and Paolo Giovio, and which, in spite of unscientific method and looseness of statement, makes them valuable to-day. If we compare them with other works of the same kind, with Condivi's biography of Michelangelo, which is devoid of literary merit, with the *Dialogo di Pittura* of Paolo Pini, overweighted with souvenirs of antiquity, with the *Nobilissima Pittura* of Michelangelo Bindo, who described Phidias and Praxiteles as painters, and attributed Leonardo's "*Cena*" to Mantegna, we shall easily perceive the immense superiority of Vasari's work; only the notes of the Venetian, Marco Antonio Michiel, can be compared with it for justness of perception and purity of taste.

Vasari's easy way of treating his material is a stumbling-block of offence to his critics. He seems to desire to conceal rather than to make known the sources from whence he drew his data. This was the fashion of the age, and it is difficult to conceive how shocked an Italian of the Renaissance would have been by one of our pages of the Lives, pages bristling with foot-notes, crowded with citations, where fact meets fact, and authorities *pro* and *con* are opposed in battle array. What he required of his author was an artistic general effect, he occupied no aggressive or skeptical attitude, he read to be diverted, interested, moved, not to be supplied with exact information, or controversial weapons; in a word he read, he did not read up. Realism has made so many strides in the last three hundred years, and the scientific method has almost destroyed the artistic method; it is difficult to realize that in the sixteenth century what the reader demanded of the writer was sympathetic comprehension, artistic presentation, liberal cultivation; that the public desired results not processes, and the author was not constantly challenged for his intellectual countersign or incessantly required to produce his literary passport.

If by any stretch of the imagination we can imagine Vasari showing Giovio a modern, up-to-date edition of his "Lives," the old scholar would have exclaimed, "How now, *Giorgio mio*, what peevish pedantry is this? Away with these impertinent notes which fret the margins in such unhandsome fashion. Blind me not with the dust from all these archives and thrust not these crabbed MSS. under my nose. I'll believe in thy learning, lad, without these commentaries which smell most consumedly of the lamp. Would'st thou have me sweat with thee in thy labors? Give me thy dish dressed, man. I've no stomach for raw victual. I am like one who has been bidden to a feast and who is taken anhungered to the kitchen to watch mine host pluck the capon and skim the pot. 'Twas a fair tome thou didst promise me, not the makings of such an one."

Vasari therefore did not occupy the defensive attitude of the modern historian or biographer, but he was a tireless compiler, a student of books and documents and works of art as well as of men. He did not shrink from the study of those "records and writings that had been left as a prey to dust and for the food of worms;" in Florence, he consulted the Tuscan archives, the book of the Academy of San Luca, an old chronicle from the library of Santa Maria Novella, and the documents of the cathedral; in other towns he studied the ledgers of the various public buildings, churches, town-halls, and hospitals, the records of judicial proceedings, and the papers of the notaries.

He spent much time in the inspection of the works of art themselves, and his collections of drawings, ornamented with borders by his own hand, contained some of the finest specimens of the old masters. He studied monuments, epitaphs, monograms, and inscriptions. He cited Dante, Giovanni Villani, Boccaccio, Sacchetti, Bindo da Forli, Manetti, Poliziano, Ariosto, Caro, Bembo, della Casa, Scaliger, Budæus, Sannazzaro, Plutarch, Vitruvius and other antique authors, besides the literary works of the artists.

Vasari was weak in his chronology; he often inverted

dates, he omitted to cite his authorities, he added certain stories, racy bits of gossip, sometimes even of scandal that have not been substantiated by documents, he often recorded traditions as facts; he was also too credulous, too ready to accept information from any source. It is only fair to add that he corrected many mistakes and modified many of his statements in the second edition of the Lives. He has also been accused of plagiarism, because in this same second edition he incorporated the work in which Ascanio Condivi completed and corrected Vasari's own life of Michelangelo. In the Renaissance plastic and literary material was common property among fellow-craftsmen to a much greater degree than it is to-day, and the line of demarcation between assimilation and appropriation had not been sharply drawn.

It is no new thing to disparage Vasari; in the sixteenth century he was attacked by Condivi, by Zuccheri, and the Caracci; to-day the special student, who, aided by all the modern discoveries and appliances, has corrected a date or an attribution, makes short work of his author. M. Bourget finds his biographies "*des esquisses informes.*" The writer of the diffuse and vague "*Sensations d'Italie*" is offended by Vasari's lack of concentration, his tendency to spin out his descriptions, and to retard action by undue elaboration of detail. It may be superfluous to remind M. Bourget's readers that these defects of style are often possessed of sufficient charm in themselves to command admiration even when unaccompanied by Vasari's lucidity, his talent for telling a story straightly and simply, his virile grasp of a mass of material, and his capacity for infusing life into his characters.

The historian trained in the philosophical school can justly reproach the Aretine with his ignorance of the influence of environment and his habit of ascribing manifestations of exceptional capacity entirely to individual genius, but even the historian will admit Vasari's knowledge of evolution in styles. If it is easy to point out the defects of

our author, it is puerile to judge him by the standards of to-day, and to expect of him the method which is the result of a much later stage of intellectual development. A proper critical appreciation of his work is no easy task however. To accomplish it Vasari was obliged to unite the special gifts of scholar, artist, critic, story-teller, and man of letters, and it is owing to this rare combination of qualities that Vasari's work, with all its mistakes and *lacunæ*, will live as long as the masters to whom he devoted his pen.

No one can enjoy the mental companionship of Vasari without being impressed with the intellectual rectitude of the man, his many virtues. Foremost is his love for his own art and his filial reverence, even tenderness for the great masters of it. The catholicity of his taste and his liberal appreciation of all forms of good art is equally noticeable. He could admire the tiny miniatures of Giulio Clovio and the heroic figures of Michelangelo; Fra Angelico's ineffable Madonnas and Pollajuolo's muscular nudities receive even-handed justice from him. The silver altar-front is as carefully described as the Moses, no achievement is too vast, no work of art too minute to escape his notice; he does not neglect the sculptor of colossi, or forget the embroiderer of vestments; he is hospitable to the stranger, "Divers, Flemish Artists" were understood and appreciated by him, and he was courteous to the women who had handled brush and chisel—it must be confessed without any signal success. The justness of his criticism was only equalled by his modesty. When we consider how large a field he covered, and how seldom he allowed personal feeling to bias his judgments, we may surely place impartiality in the list of his virtues. To Perugino, Pinturicchio and Bazzi he was unjust; to Cellini he is as fair as though there were no ill-feeling between them. Cellini, who had attacked him savagely, made a most unsavory reference to Vasari which was probably as near the truth as was Cellini's spelling of our author's name (Georgetto Vassellario); we have only to compare his work with that of other art-critics to note how

seldom his estimate of the character of the man affected his appreciation of the product of the artist.

He repeated, without examination or preliminary investigation, many idle stories about his contemporaries, yet he is benevolence itself, if we contrast him with many of his fellows; there was much jealousy among artists then in that period of perfected processes and over-production, and much of the detraction that results from the undue development of the critical faculties. Is the artistic and literary gossip of three centuries later quite devoid of venom?

In Vasari, the gentler virtues of the Renaissance find expression. We are apt to forget, in studying the highly colored dramatic episodes of this transitional age, that Italy was not entirely peopled with *bravi*, humanists, *condottieri*, buffoons, dukes, abbesses and cardinals; that there were thousands of every-day honest people who lived soberly and worked hard, and found their pleasure in ways that made others no poorer or sadder. Vasari's was a burgher ideal; to work faithfully, to live frugally, to economize money, time, and health, to look sharply after the honor and well-being of your own family, to drive a hard bargain, to own land and to enjoy political honors, to live on good terms with the church and with your neighbor, and to revere your prince no matter how unworthy of reverence he might be, was the code of the artisan-courtier, a new type, born of the fusion of old and new conditions, standing mid-way between the sturdy Republican Donatello and the supple, politic Giulio Romano. At the same time, and in apparent contradiction to this *bourgeois* standard, an idea obtained that there was a special moral code for the artist, that he was exempt from the laws that govern the common herd. Lorenzo the Magnificent had said of Fra Filippo that "rare geniuses were forms of light and not beasts of burden." Benvenuto Cellini evidently considered that he stood above ordinary legal restrictions, and the Pope tacitly admitted this to be the case. Vasari took a temperate and common-sense view of the artist's privileges; he defended

his love of solitude and maintained his social independence, but he absolutely condemned violence and dissoluteness, and was rather unnecessarily severe on foppery and presumption.

There are few traces of the moral hebetude of Italy in Vasari's work, it is rather by what he omits than what he recorded that his ethical sense must be apprehended. The crimes of the Popes, the hideous domestic dramas of his patrons, the Medici, the scandals and assassinations of the various ducal courts are not mentioned in his pages. A monster like Alessandro is called the amiable duke; despots like Cosimo are magnificent princes. We look in vain likewise for any record of those splendid acts of courage and self-sacrifice which lighten the gloom of this melancholy epoch of Italian history. Indomitable Florence is besieged by the veteran armies of three nations; heroic Siena starves unyielding within her walls, the exiles speak and act as Cato might have done; Vasari is silent; he had no love for the liberty that died so hard. It was not he who wrote to Michelangelo, "it is time to think of *armi* (arms) not of *marmi*" (marbles). He feels no generous sense of outrage as he writes of the sack of Rome or Prato, and he refers casually to events and incidents that even to-day stir the reader's blood.

Was Vasari, like so many modern critics, dazzled by the outward brilliance of this civilization which cultivated the minds and tastes of men while it left their hearts and characters ferocious and undisciplined? Was the conscience for which we look in vain among what Taine called "these intelligent wolves" lacking in Vasari also? Did he acquiesce in this reign of might without even a mental protest? If he did we can find many excuses for him in his moral environment. The Italian religion was a stranger to reason, to feeling, to conduct; it was merely a mental habit which imposed certain practices and proscribed certain thoughts. Before Vasari's death it had hardened into that mixture of hypocrisy and formalism that arrested

Italian development for many centuries. The humanists, after the Catholic reaction, had become mere writers, and were no longer thinkers. Philosophy, which in virile souls so often stands in the stead of religion, was silenced, and stoicism, the moral stimulus of strong men, was powerless to affect the mass of the Italians. In spite of the reform in the Church, crimes of violence were on the increase when compared with the Middle Ages or the early Renaissance. To the old elements of discord between families and individuals the invasion of the Spaniards had added false ideas of punctilio in regard to precedence, place, titles, and, above all, in love affairs, which were fruitful causes of brawls. Religious persecution, which had languished and almost disappeared during the revival of arts and letters, returned with renewed terrors at the bidding of the Inquisition; the excessive harshness of the penal code, the barbarous punishments for trifling offences, and the horrors of judicial procedure, testify to the underlying ferocity of this urbane and cultivated people.

Vasari, who had grown up as the protégé of merciless and dissolute young princes, and passed his life in the tainted atmosphere of the ducal and papal courts, found a permanent incitement to virtue in the kindness of his own heart and in the example set him by the men of his own class. His were not the heroic virtues, the love of liberty, the sentiment of patriotism; indeed, patriotism in any large sense had never existed in Italy, but was replaced by civic or sectional pride; he was no saint or devotee. We have no reason to believe that he was specially courageous. His was rather the Italian *corraggio*, dogged perseverance in the face of discomfort and difficulty, the patient fortitude which student and artist must constantly exercise in the endurance of physical ill-being and moral discouragement; he loved what Ghiberti called "the sweat of virtue;" and in his Luca della Robbia he eloquently preached to the art student the gospel of hard work and heroic endeavor.

If he made no mention of his patrons' crimes, at least he

made no attempt to palliate them or apologize for them. Gratitude was a strong feeling with Vasari; his sense of obligation was as keen as that of Marcus Aurelius, and the Medici and some of the least estimable Italian princes had always been kind and liberal friends to him, which makes his reticence in regard to their misdeeds more pardonable. Their relations to art and artists were admirable, and in a history of art they deserved honorable mention; and it is owing to this sane and manly optimism that the lives of the artists did not become a mere *chronique scandaleuse*, like too many biographies of all times.

As in the work of many other authors, Madame de Lafayette for instance, who write for and under a despot, much can be read between the lines, and it is rather from Vasari's omissions than from his statements that we can guess at his own opinion. Michelangelo is never criticised for his harsh and biting speeches, but Raphael is constantly praised for his sweetness and graciousness, and Vasari, like most healthy-minded and large-hearted people, found it pleasanter to commend goodness than to denounce evil.

IV

It is an ungrateful task to consider our author as painter; he is one of the most striking examples of the rapid decadence of the Roman school; a hard worker, educated among master-pieces, enjoying the example and counsels of great artists, with a genuine love and appreciation of art in its noblest forms, his pictures are cold and characterless; they possess no personality, no *parti pris;* as reminiscences of finer works they are uninteresting, and Vasari in them does not even attain to the dignity of a mannerist, for when not actually a plagiarist he is but an imitator.

He was one of the worst of those *epigoni* who consulted only the masters and omitted to study nature, who copied *formulæ* until they lost their capacity for seeing the real

world with their own eyes. In the hands of greater men the means of expression had been so perfected and were so easily attainable that art in the hands of lesser men had lost all personal quality and meaning. The facility, invention, and the tendency toward generalization of types characteristic of the Roman school became in its decadent followers abstraction, conventionality, and insincere repetition. The phenomena of artistic degeneration appear at the same time—the abuse of *trompe l'œil;* improvisation, a slap-dash covering of great canvases without preliminary study; collaboration, parcelling out the work among many assistants or pupils; and, as a necessary consequence of these quick and easy practices, over-production.

The demoralization of art in Rome was precipitated by unstable social conditions, and the mushroom character of its art-patrons. There society was constantly changing, a new set of people attained money and position for a brief period under each successive pope, and were anxious to enjoy their short tenure of power. These patrons, stimulated by the pontiff's example, ordered huge decorative works to be furnished at a cheap rate and within limitations of time; very often the artist forfeited a certain portion of his payment if the paintings were not finished by a certain date; what was required of him was show and magnificence, not thought or feeling, and an ostentatious parade of rich ornament. The absence of any spiritual significance in the works was supplied by elaborate allegories and far-fetched *concetti;* they are as full of strained allusions as any Petrarchistic sonnet. Vasari's letters teem with long explanations of the inner meaning of his paintings. Writing, for example, of the portrait of Duke Alexander, he says: "He is in full armor to signify that he is ready for the love of his country to defend her privately and publicly; the round form of the bench on which he is seated, having neither beginning nor end, shows that his will be a perpetual reign. . . . there is also a mask muzzled with certain bandages which stands for Volubility to show that this unstable

people is bound and shut up by the fortress built by, and the love that the aforesaid people bear to, His Excellency. The red cloth which is put over the seat shows the blood that has been shed by those who rebelled against the Medicean house, and a fold of it covering the thigh of the armed man shows that the house of Medici has bled also in the death of Giuliano and the wounds of Lorenzo the Elder." There are pages of this fustian in Vasari's correspondence and in the "Ragionamenti;" it reaches its highest degree of absurdity in his description of the frescoes of the cupola of the Duomo, which reads like a kind of artistico-theological *menu*.

Another cause of artistic degeneration was the confused ideals of the time, the eclecticism so favorable to the art critic. It is a dangerous thing for a painter to aim at "the coloring of Titian, the design of Michelangelo." Art is a jealous goddess, and her votary cannot worship at many shrines. The painter of the late sixteenth century, bewildered by his rich inheritance, grasped at too much and missed the essential. He tried to combine the chiaroscuro of Leonardo, the composition of Raphael, the movements of Michelangelo, and the *morbidezza* of Correggio; naturally the result of such ambitious eclecticism was loss of personality and artistic impotence.

Vasari occupies a far more honorable place as architect; the *façade* of the palace of the Uffizi is imposing, its interior is well calculated for the purpose for which it was built, and the staircases of the Palazzo Vecchio have been specially praised by Piacenza the architect.

V

VASARI in his "Autobiography" has told us everything about himself but that which we most desire to know. Fortunately a whole series of letters has been collected and published which enables us to follow his career year by year, and which supplements the *lacunæ* in the "Life."

Giorgio Vasari was born in 1511, in the hill-town of Arezzo, the birthplace of Petrarch. In his "Life" of his kinsman, Luca Signorelli, Vasari has given us a glimpse of his childhood, showing us the lordly old painter, dressed like a prince, looking at the drawings with which Giorgino had spoiled his school-books, and advising Vasari's parents to let him study art. Apparently they did so, and the child spent his time working under Guglielmo di Marsiglia (Guillaume de Marcillat), and copying the works of the *Giotteschi* in the churches of Arezzo. Meantime his literary education was not neglected, and the Aretine poet, Messer Giovanni Pollastra, who was an excellent and useful friend to Vasari, urged him forward over the thorny paths of learning with such speed that at the age of nine Giorgino could repeat many books of the "Æneid" by heart. This accomplishment was displayed with great effect, when in 1523, Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona, stopped at Arezzo, on his way to Florence, where he had been appointed guardian of the two Medicean princes, Ippolito and Alessandro, by their cousin, Pope Clement VII. When Antonio Vasari went to pay his respects to his kinsman Passerini, the small Giorgio was taken with him, and in this illustrious company the erudite infant recited the larger part of the "Æneid" (the Cardinal was apparently in no hurry to reach Florence), and showed his collection of drawings. Passerini was sufficiently impressed to offer to take the boy to Florence, where he could study to much better advantage than in Arezzo. This offer was accepted, Vasari remained three years in Florence and began his artistic career under the pleasantest conditions; he was a pupil of Michelangelo, the humanities were not neglected, as he passed two hours of each day in study with the young princes Ippolito and Alessandro, and their tutor, the learned Pierio. A little later he studied with Baccio Bandinelli and formed that friendship with Francesco Salviati that was to last through his lifetime.

Troublous times soon came for Vasari and his patrons; the Florentines, who had fretted under the Medicean yoke

had no sooner learned of the siege of Rome and the captivity of the Pope than they rose, thrust out the priest and the bastard princes, and declared the Republic once more.

This manifestation of the old spirit of civic liberty is of course very briefly mentioned by Vasari; but he relates an incident in connection with it that is too characteristic of the man and the times to be omitted. Now at this time the David of Michelangelo stood on the Ringhiera, or stone platform which occupied that side of the old palace where to-day Ammanati's sprawling nymphs disport themselves in the fountain. The Medicean priors had intrenched themselves in the Palazzo Vecchio, which was besieged by the Republicans, and during the attack on the building the besieged dropped a heavy oak bench from the windows, which, instead of falling on their assailants struck the arm of "the giant of the Piazza," as the David was called, and broke it into three pieces, which lay on the ground for several days unnoticed in the tumult. Francesco Salviati, who like boys in general, and Florentine boys in particular, had come out to see the fighting, recognized the fragments, and with his friend Giorgio, whom he generously allowed to share the glory of his enterprise, ventured into the Piazza. There, heedless of the danger and of the presence of the armed men, the two boys gathered up the pieces and carried them to the house of Francesco's father, where Duke Cosimo found them when, years afterward, he wished to repair the statue.

Truly the teachings of Savonarola had borne fruit, when the Florentine youth, instead of throwing stones as was their wicked wont, took to collecting them instead.

As his patrons the Medici were exiled, and as his father had died of the plague, Giorgio returned to Arezzo with his uncle, Antonio, where he busied himself in copying the frescoes of Giottino, and attracted the notice of the painter Il Rosso; but the boy yearned for Florence, as the modern art student longs for Paris, and in the following August he returned, to study harder than ever. This youth of eigh-

teen had been left with three sisters and two brothers all younger than himself to care for, and we find him during the year of the siege working with the goldsmith Manno, painting a fresco in Pisa, in Bologna designing the festal decorations for the triumphal entrance of Charles V., and finally returning to Arezzo. Meanwhile the prospects of the Medici were improving, the Pope and the Emperor had become friends and allies, and the young Ippolito de' Medici, recently made cardinal, took Vasari to Rome with him in his suite. This was the happiest period of Giorgio's life. Rome was the Mecca of the artist; there the antique world was revealed to him, and Italian painting had become the worthy successor of Greek sculpture. There Vasari and his old friend Francesco Salviati, whom he had found in Rome, spent many months in hard work. They copied indefatigably, in the churches, in the palaces, and in that mine of riches, the Vatican; evening saw no cessation of their labors, for then to save time they made copies of each other's drawings; they seemed to be possessed by a fever of acquisition, and to it they sacrificed not only sleep and recreation but even health as well, and Vasari assures us that the studies of this period were his true and principal master in art. When the stimulus of emulation, for Rome was full of students, was added to the incentive of such an environment, the excitement and enthusiasm of the two young art-lovers is easily understood.

Overwork and the habit of fasting to save time resulted in a serious illness, and poor, ambitious Giorgio was brought back to Arezzo on a litter. In his native air he soon recovered, and by the tenth of the following December he was in Florence, favorably received by Alessandro de' Medici, now Duke, and placed under the protection of Ottaviano de' Medici, who was not only a true friend but an affectionate father to Vasari, if we may believe his own words. The Duke, who had re-entered Florence at the heels of foreign soldiers, and had surpassed his worthy predecessors' usual quota of murders, exiles, and confiscations, was generous enough in his

treatment of Vasari, to whom he assigned lodgings, a place at his own table, board for a servant, and an allowance of six crowns a month. Giorgio, in return, painted several portraits and some scenes from the life of Cæsar in the Palazzo Medici. In one of his letters he gives a lively account of the difficulties he had with an illustrious sitter, the future queen of France, Catherine de' Medici, then an irrepressible romp. When Vasari returned from dinner after working on her portrait all the morning, he found her, brush in hand, daubing the face with black, and if he had not taken to his heels she would have "painted the painter the same colour."

It was at this time, after the death of Ippolito, that Vasari began to study architecture, which was of great use to him in the magnificent preparations that were made for the visit of Charles V. when he came to Florence for the marriage of his daughter with the Duke. These festivities were described by Vasari in a couple of letters to Aretino, whom he had met at the Roman court and who had for some unknown reason found it worth his while to cultivate the young protégé of the Medici. Those who have seen the Donatello festival in Florence can form some idea of what an artist could do with every resource placed at his disposition, with a beautiful city for his background, and princes, magistrates, and lovely women for his figurants. An important part in the decoration had been assigned to Vasari, which aroused the envy of "certain malignant persons" who bribed his assistants to desert him at a crucial moment. Partly by his own untiring efforts, partly with the aid of "some painters who came to him from other places," the work was completed in time for the festival, while the tasks of the persecutors, who had been more busy in attending to Vasari's affairs than their own, remained unfinished. Giorgio's triumph was enhanced by the generosity of the Duke, who added to the sum he had promised him the fines, amounting to three hundred crowns, which were paid by the tardy painters. This unexpected largess en-

abled Vasari to dower and marry one of his sisters, and not long after to put another of them into a convent at Arezzo.

His good fortune came to a speedy end with the assassination of Duke Alessandro ; Cosimo, his successor, was not too favorably disposed toward the dead man's favorites, and Vasari, who had now lost three protectors by death, resolved (aided by the prudent advice of Ottaviano) to leave Florence "and to seek no more the favor of courts but to follow art for its own sake."

Just at this time, through the influence of his old master Pollastra, he received some commissions in the so-called hermitage of Camaldoli. In these lovely hills, covered with giant fir-trees, he spent three summers, painting in the church and in the various shrines ; the holy stillness of the place, the peaceful solitude, the freedom from fret and care, the serenity and cheerfulness of the good monks, deeply impressed the susceptible artist. It was during his third summer at Camaldoli, for he had gone back there after one winter spent in Rome and another in Bologna, that he met Bindo Altoviti, financier, patriot, art-lover, and one of the noblest characters of the time, who had come to Camaldoli to buy firs for the construction of St. Peter's. Bindo gave Vasari an important order for an altar-piece in Florence, and thereby greatly elated him, for he hoped through this picture to win his spurs in the most critical city in Italy. In order to have his "mind free for the great work," he married off his third sister and bought a house in Arezzo and a garden in the quarter of San Vito, famed for the purity of its air. From 1540–42 he was engaged on Bindo's picture, and several others which he has described at great length in his letters, but which as works of art are mediocre and characterless, and which the curious may study in the galleries of the Uffizi and the Pitti.

In 1541 Vasari, invited by the "Divine Aretino," visited Venice, stopping at Modena and Parma to study the works of Correggio, at Verona to see the antiquities, and at Mantua, where he was the guest of Giulio Romano. It is worth

while to note how richly Vasari repaid the kindness shown him by the favorite pupil of Raphael; little did Giulio think when he played cicerone to an obscure young painter of the celebrity that it was in that painter's power to bestow on him. In Venice, protected by Aretino, Vasari visited the painters in their workshops, painted nine pictures in the Cornaro Palace, and found work quite to his taste in decorating the city for the brilliant festival of the Calza.

On the 16th of August, "though overwhelmed with unsought commissions," he returned to Arezzo and proceeded to recreate himself by frescoing a ceiling in his own house. The next winter was spent in Rome in the house of Bindo Altoviti, for whom Vasari painted a Deposition from the Cross, "which had the good fortune not to displease the greatest sculptor, painter, and architect that ever lived in our times." Michelangelo, who showed great kindness to Vasari, and earnestly recommended him to study architecture (probably after examining his paintings) presented Giorgio to Cardinal Farnese.

The Cardinal, who, to rare dignity of character united a passion for beautiful things, was, next to his grandfather, the Pope, the most powerful of Roman art-patrons. He, with his brother Rannucio, built the Farnese palace, the Farnese gardens, and the Villa Caprarole; he bought the Hercules, the Flora, and the Bull, which bear his name. Michelangelo, Vignole, and Antonio da San Gallo designed his palaces, Salviati, Daniele da Volterra, and Zuccheri painted for him, Giulio Clovio illuminated his MSS., and the archæologist, Fulvio Orsini, had charge of his collections. It was for him that Vasari painted the frescoes which still remain in the Hall of the Chancery, and it was at his palace that Giorgio was persuaded to write the Lives.

For several years the painter divided his time between Rome and Florence. In 1544 he went to Naples, where he worked at Monte Oliveto in the house of his compatriot, Tommaso Cambi, and, like the many-sided craftsman that he was, designed the stalls and presses in the monastery of

S. Giovanni Carbonaro. In 1547 he was in Rimini painting in the monastery of his friend, the learned abbot, and in the new church of the Abbey of the Classi in Ravenna; then he was again in Arezzo working in his own house. Not long afterward he returned to Florence, where he painted a processional banner and a Cupid and Psyche for Annibale Caro; then, as the handsome Alfonso di Cambi, who was justly proud of his fine person, greatly admired the nudes in the latter, Vasari painted a life-size portrait of the said youth naked in the character of Endymion, to the great joy of the "good, kindly, and courteous" Alfonso, who doubtless felt that it was not "good, kindly, and courteous" to deny to others the sight of so much beauty. Soon afterward Vasari was persuaded by the future Pope Julius III. "to do what he had never before chosen to do—take a wife;" therefore, to quote the victim's own words, "I married accordingly, as was his desire, a daughter of the noble Aretine citizen, Francesco Bacci."

The few lines which Vasari devotes to his marriage are typical of the slight importance of such an event in a busy and ambitious man's life. "A wife," says Michelangelo in his letters, "should be ten years younger than her husband, healthy, and of a good family." Character, mind, and heart were unimportant trifles; beauty was a dangerous possession, and talent a prudent man fought shy of. As to learning, it was all very well for princesses and great ladies, but had no place among the narrow interests and small economies of a burgher household. The Italian "about to marry" followed not the dictates of his heart, but the commands of his reason. He chose, not a woman whom he blindly adored, nor one for whom he felt that warm and perennial affection which springs from parity of tastes and ideas, but one who would be a thrifty housekeeper and a mother of strong sons. Naturally, in a union based on such practical considerations, there was no room for sentiment. Vasari had seen in Raphael's broken life the fatal consequences of an absorbing passion, the example of Andrea del

Sarto had taught him how love of woman may wreck a man's career, and we have no reason to believe that unruly affections ever troubled the even tenor of Giorgio's busy life. If "Love is born of idleness and fulness of bread" it is not difficult to understand why his darts glanced off the ever-occupied painter.

Niccolosa, Vasari's new wife, who, from the medal Pastorino da Siena made of her, seems to have been a pretty, slender girl, did not keep him long in Arezzo. He was soon in Florence again painting a Madonna for Bindo Altoviti and an altar-piece for the Martelli. Meanwhile the matchmaker, Cardinal di Monte, had become Pope Julius III., and sent for Vasari to build a tomb, to paint pictures, and to make plans for the pope's favorite toy, the *Vigna Giulia*, a villa surrounded by gardens. But the new pontiff changed his mind so rapidly that even Vasari, who could "rush" a decoration or paint a picture at a moment's notice, failed to keep pace with him, and as His Holiness's orders were given through Bishop *Tantecose* (Busybody), they were still further confused and contradictory.

Vasari, therefore, returned to Arezzo, where he filled the honorary office of Prior until Duke Cosimo, who had several times intimated that he desired Vasari's services, summoned him to Florence, and after some time spent in finishing several commissions, Vasari finally became the duke's man in 1555. From this time until 1572 he was constantly employed in the old palace. He completely remodelled most of the interior, and the rooms which we visit to-day are his. He was full of resources, and, without making changes in the construction, by clever shifts and devices he transformed the stern Republican town-house into a prince's palace. Ceilings were raised and carved, wide, easy staircases built, walls veneered with marble or hung with arras woven after Vasari's designs, and a whole cycle of decorations representing "Stories of the gods," the "Virtues" of Cosimo, the portraits of his children and friends, were painted in a feverish hurry by the indefatigable Giorgio and described

with much elaboration and minuteness in his "Ragionamenti." The Duke was as generous as he was exacting, and Vasari received a stipend of twenty-five ducats a month from the Duke himself and thirteen from the magistrates, besides gifts from time to time—among other things an excellent house in Florence in the Borgo Santa Croce, and a villa in the country. Vasari's kinsfolk shared his good fortune and the favor of the prince. Cosimo was as liberal of honors to the painter as he had been with money, and appointed Vasari *Gonfaloniere* of Arezzo with the privilege of naming a substitute to perform the active duties of the office.

The most important work which Vasari executed for the Duke was the painting of the great *sala* which was finished "in less time than was expected or his Excellency had hoped." Here in this noble hall filled with the memories of Savonarola, which Da Vinci and Michelangelo were to have decorated for the republic, Vasari splashed in the dreary, painted platitudes over which the tourist yawns to-day. "*Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa,*" do not even look long, for these ten great compositions which treat of the "history of Florence from the foundation to the present time," and in which Vasari was "called upon to depict everything that could present itself to the mind and thought of man," are utterly commonplace. They were completed, however, in time for the marriage of Cosimo's eldest son, Francesco, with the Archduchess of Austria, as well as various arches of triumph, painted *façades*, and other gigantic decorations which added to the splendor of the nuptials. Vasari was an invaluable *impressario* for festivals; his facility never failed him and his nervous energy made him rejoice in excitement and hurry; they stimulated him as applause does a race-horse. Owing to his keen sense of responsibility he was always ready in time, and this rare virtue in a painter—at least in a sixteenth-century painter—more than once advanced his fortunes.

Some important and fine buildings were erected by him, or at least under his supervision, during this period of his

life: in Florence the palace of the Uffizi, the corridor which, crossing the Arno, leads from it to the Pitti (and which was built in the space of five months); in Pisa the cupola of the Madonna dell' Umilta and the palace and church erected for the Knights of St. Stephen, a new order instituted by Cosimo, and which distinguished itself at Lepanto. These works were dismissed, like the "Lives," with a few lines; perhaps Giorgio, like the mother who defends the weaklings of her brood, felt that, unlike his paintings, they needed no apologies or explanations. The changes he made in Santa Maria Novella and in Santa Croce, *i.e.*, the removal of the rood-screens, the addition of new choirs and side-chapels, have been much regretted and severely criticised. During this time he had executed many private commissions; his fecundity and his facility of hand seem amazing until we examine the pictures themselves, when after admitting that it was remarkable that one man in a comparatively short life should have produced so much, we are tempted to add, with Dr. Johnson, "Would to God that it had been impossible."

In 1567 Vasari, pleading fatigue, obtained the Duke's leave to spend several months in travel. The tireless painter passed his time in the restful pursuit of making notes for the second edition of the "Lives," in studying buildings, pictures, and statues, and in visiting his friends; he finished his tour by going to kiss the feet of the new Pope, Pius V., who, faithful to Papal traditions, gave him a commission. When the picture was finished the painter returned to Rome, where he examined the Sistine bridge, which was decaying, and where he had many consultations with the Pope in regard to St. Peter's, and, loyal at once to art and Michelangelo, earnestly advised His Holiness not to permit any departure from Buonarroti's plans. Before leaving Vasari obtained permission to build a chapel and *decanato* in the Deanery of Arezzo; this chapel was in due time painted by the unwearied Giorgio, and in it he was buried.

Vasari's autobiography ends abruptly in the year 1568,

when his "Lives" were printed, and for an account of the six remaining years of his life we are obliged to depend upon his letters and the researches of Bottari.

From the latter we learn that in 1570 Vasari was again in Rome painting huge historical compositions in the *Cordonate* and in the *Sala Regia*. During the rest of his life he was driven like a shuttlecock from the Pope to the Duke, from the Duke to the Pope. He was himself anxious to remain in Florence to commence an important commission, the frescoes of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, for which he had made elaborate plans and cartoons, and which he hoped would be his *magnum opus*. On the other hand, the Pope constantly wanted him in Rome not only for the paintings of the Vatican, but to superintend the building of St. Peter's, to conduct the Acqua Vergine from Salona to Rome, or to repair San Giovanni Laterano.

In 1572 we find Vasari in Florence employed in designing a palace at Capraia, some fountains for the Castello, a small church at Colle Mingoli, and pushing on the preparations for the cupola frescoes, but the Pope could not spare him long and an importunate letter soon arrived, enjoining, rather than requesting, him to repair to Rome at once, for the Pope, Gregory XIII., was anxious to have the paintings of the *Sala Regia* finished. For the first time the patient old courtier-painter proved recalcitrant, but after the Duke had represented to him that his refusal to obey His Holiness's commands would be ascribed to the influence of his patron, the painter, taking many assistants with him, started for Rome, and there worked with even greater speed than usual, so that the *Sala Regia* was opened to the public on *Corpus Domini* of the year 1573. Among the subjects of these paintings were three devoted to the murder of Admiral Coligny and "the affair (*cosa*) of the Huguenots"—in secular language, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which had occurred during the Pontificate of Gregory XIII., and which he was naturally anxious to have properly commemorated.

In the midst of the triumph which, following the opening of the *Sala Regia,* where for thirty-nine years, under six successive popes, twelve painters had labored, an invitation from Philip II. of Spain arrived urging Vasari to visit the Spanish court and offering magnificent terms, but Giorgio was satiated at last with honors, and refused, saying "that he desired no more glory, no more work and fatigue (*mirabile dictu!*), but only to be able to repose himself in the grand and magnanimous shadow of his lord." He then for the last time went back to Florence to resume his work in the cupola, where death surprised him on June 27, 1574, before he had quite finished the figures of prophets and elders which surround the *oculus* of the lantern.

He was buried, with many honors, in Arezzo, and mourned by "his innumerable friends, who were almost all the learned men, and every famous artist of the time, while of the less distinguished he was himself the friend and protector." Nor was this astonishing. No artist ever lived on kindlier terms, not only with his co-workers but with his fellow-creatures; no artist ever wrote with more enthusiasm of the works of others, with more humility of his own, and those who have followed his blameless life, and seen his character revealed in his work, will say with Della Valle, "who would not be the friend of Vasari?"

Dedication to Cosmo De' Medici

[TO THE EDITION OF 1550].

To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Signor Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, My Most Revered Lord.

Impelled by your own natural magnanimity, and following the example of your illustrious progenitors, your Excellency has never ceased to favour and exalt every kind of talent, wheresoever it may be found, more particularly do you protect the arts of design; and since your gracious disposition towards those who exercise these arts, with your knowledge of, and pleasure in, their best and rarest works, is fully manifest, I have thought that this labour which I have undertaken—of writing the lives, describing the works, and setting forth the various relations of those who, when art had become extinct, first revived, and then gradually conducted her to that degree of beauty and majesty wherein we now see her, would not be other than pleasing to your Excellency.

And since almost all these masters were Tuscans, the greater part of them your own Florentines, many of whom were aided and encouraged by your illustrious ancestors with every sort of honour and reward, it may be truly affirmed that the arts were recalled to life in your own States—nay, in your own most fortunate house. Thus is the world indebted to your ancestors for the recovery of these noble arts, by which it is both ennobled and embellished.

Reflecting, therefore on the gratitude which this age—the arts and their masters—owe alike to your ancestors, and

to yourself, as the heir of their virtues, and their patronage of these professions,—reflecting also on what I owe them in my own person, whether as subject or servant, and for what I have learned from them. Brought up under the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and under Alexander, your predecessor, and deeply honouring the memory of the magnanimous Ottaviano de' Medici, by whom I was supported, befriended, and sheltered while he lived; for all these reasons, and because the greatness of your high fortune will largely contribute to the advantage of this work, and from your intimate acquaintance with its subject, the extent of its utility, with the care and industry bestowed on its execution, can be so fully appreciated by none as by your Excellency—it appears to me that I cannot suitably dedicate this work to any other than your Excellency, under the protection of whose most honoured name I desire that it may reach the hands of men.

Deign, then, to accept, to favour, and—if your exalted occupations permit—sometimes to read my book, having regard to the nature of the matters treated therein, and to the uprightness of my intention: for my object has not been to acquire praise as a writer; but rather, as an artist, to celebrate the industry, and revive the memory, of those who, having adorned and given life to these professions, do not merit that their names and works should remain the prey of death and oblivion, as they have hitherto been. I have, besides, thought that the example of so many able men, with the various notices, of divers kinds, collected by my labours in this book, might be of no small advantage to those who study the arts, and would gratify all others who have taste for, and pleasure in them. And I have laboured to execute the whole with that accuracy and good faith demanded in the relation of historical facts committed to writing. But if my fashion of writing—being uncultivated and simple, as I am wont to speak—is not worthy of your Excellency's ear, or of the merits of so many men of illustrious ability—pardon me as to them—that the pen of a Drafts-

man, such as they were themselves, has not availed to give them a clearer outline or more effective shadows ; and as to yourself, it shall suffice me if your Excellency will deign to look favourably on my simple work, remembering that the necessity I am in of providing myself with the daily necessaries of life, has not allowed me time for other studies than those of the pencil. Nor even in these have I yet attained to that point at which I now hope to arrive, now, when fortune promises to favour me so far, that, with more credit to myself, and more satisfaction to others, I may be able to express my thoughts, whatever they may be, to the world, as well with my pencil as my pen. For, in addition to the aid and protection which I may hope from your Excellency as my liege lord, and as the protector of poor artists, it has pleased the Divine goodness to elect the most holy and most blessed Julius III. to be his vicar upon earth —a pontiff who acknowledges and loves every kind of excellence, more especially in these most noble and difficult arts ; and from whose exalted liberality I expect indemnification for the many years I have consumed, and the heavy labours I have endured, up to this time, without any fruit whatever. And not only I, who have devoted myself in perpetual servitude to his Holiness, but all the ingenious artists of this age, may equally expect honour, reward, and opportunity to exercise their art ; so that I rejoice already in the thought that these arts will reach the supreme point of their perfection during his reign, and Rome be adorned by so many and such excellent artists, that, counting with them those of Florence, daily called into activity by your Excellency, we may hope that they who shall come after us will have to write a fourth part to my work, enriched by other performances and other masters than those here described, in the company of whom I continually make every effort to be not among the last.

Meanwhile, I am content that your Excellency have some hope of me, and a better opinion of me than you probably, without any fault of mine, have hitherto held, entreating

that your Excellency will not suffer me to be injured, in your estimation, by the malignant assertions of others, while my life and works prove the contrary of their reports. And now, with the earnest desire ever to serve and honour your Excellency, I dedicate this my rude labour, as I have devoted myself and all that I have, to your service, entreating that you will not disdain to take it under your protection, or that you will at least regard the devotion of him who offers it I recommend myself to your gracious consideration, and humbly kissing your hands, am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GIORGIO VASARI,
Painter, of Arezzo.

Dedication to Cosmo De' Medici

To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Signor Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence and Siena, his most honoured Lord.

Seventeen years have now elapsed since I presented to your most illustrious Excellency the then but roughly sketched Lives of the most renowned Painters, Sculptors, and Architects; and now they once again return to present themselves before you, not indeed wholly finished, yet so changed from what they first were,—so enriched by the many works of which I had not been able to obtain an earlier knowledge, and so much more complete, that there remains, in my opinion, nothing more that my power can supply, to be desired for them. Again I present these Lives to you, therefore, most illustrious and most truly excellent My Lord Duke, with the addition of other noble and very famous artists, who, between the former period and the present, have passed from the miseries of this life to a better; as well as of some, who, though still in life amongst us, have so nobly laboured in their vocation, that they are most worthy to be had in eternal remembrance. And of a truth it has been of no small advantage to many, that I have been permitted, by the mercy of Him through whom live all things, to survive until I have been able to write this book almost anew; for, as I have expunged many things, which in my absence and without my knowledge, had been printed in the former one, I know not how, so I have also altered and added many things, which, although useful and even necessary, were previously wanting. And if the portraits of the many distinguished men, which I

have added to this work, and of which great part have been procured by the favour and aid of your Excellency, are not always true to the life, and have not those characteristic expressions, or that resemblance more commonly given by the vivacity of colour, this is not because the drawings have not been made from the life, or are not the real and natural likeness of the artist, but arises from the fact, that they have been sent to me in great part by the friends that I possess in various places, and have not been taken by a master's hand. I have also endured no small inconvenience from the distance of those who have engraved the heads; for if the engravers had been near me, we might probably have had the work executed with greater care than has now been done. But however this may be, our artists, and the lovers of art for whose benefit and convenience I have subjected myself to so much labour, are wholly indebted to your most illustrious Excellency, for whatever of good, useful, or agreeable may be found in this work; for, being in your Excellency's service, I have had facilities, by means of the leisure which you have been pleased to secure to me, and by the use of the many, nay, innumerable objects belonging to your Excellency, to which I have had access: for the collection, arrangement, and final presentation to the world, of all that seemed desirable for the completion of the work. And now, would it not be almost impiety as well as ingratitude, should I dedicate these lives to any other than yourself? or, if artists should attribute, whatever they may find of useful or pleasing in the work, to any one but to your Excellency? For not only was it by your help and favour that the book first received existence, and now returns to the light; but are not you alone, in imitation of our ancestors, sole father, lord, and protector, of these our arts? Most reasonable and righteous is it, therefore, that so many pictures and noble statues, with so many wondrous edifices of every kind, should be erected and executed by those in your service, and to your eternal and everduring memory. But if we are all indebted to you for

these and other causes,—as we all are most deeply,—how much more do not I owe you? I, who have ever received at your hands so many valued occasions (would that my head and hands were but equal to my wish and desire,) for giving proof of my slight abilities, which, whatever they may be, are very far from commensurate to the truly royal magnificence and greatness of your own mind. But what do I seek to accomplish? It were better I should remain silent than attempt that which would be wholly impossible, even to a much higher and nobler intellect,—how much more, then, to my most weak powers. Deign then, your most illustrious Excellency, to accept this my—or rather, indeed, your—book of the Lives of the Artists in Design, and, as doth the Father of all, looking first to the heart of the writer, and the good intentions of the work, be pleased graciously to accept, not what I would, or ought to offer, but what I am able to present.

Your most illustrious Excellency's
Most obliged servant,
GIORGIO VASARI.

Florence, 9th January, 1568.

To the Artists in Design

GIORGIO VASARI.

MOST DEAR AND EXCELLENT BROTHER ARTISTS,—the delight, as well as the honour and profit that I have derived from labouring as I have best been able in these most noble arts, has ever been so great, that I have not only felt an ardent wish to exalt, to celebrate, and to honour them by every means in my power, but have also been ever most affectionately disposed towards all who take similar pleasure in them, or who have distinguished themselves more happily in the pursuit of them than I, perchance, have been able to do. And from this, my good will and fulness of most sincere affection, it appears to me, that I have hitherto gathered the due and proper fruits, having been constantly beloved and honoured by all of you; and the intercourse between us having always been of a cordial intimacy, if I might not rather say of the most perfect brotherhood,—for we have mutually laid open to each other our various works,—I to you, and you to me,—assisting one another whenever the occasion presented itself, both with council and with aid. Wherefore, moved by this our affection, and much more by your excellent talents, but also by my own inclination, by nature, and by a most potent instinct and attraction, I have always felt deeply bound to gratify and serve you, in every manner, and by all means, that I have judged likely to contribute either to your enjoyment or advantage. To this end it was, that in the year 1550, I put forth the lives of those most renowned and esteemed among us, moved thereunto by a cause recounted elsewhere, and also (to declare the truth) by a generous indignation that so much talent should

remain concealed for so long a time, and still continue buried. Nor does this my labour appear to have been unwelcome; on the contrary, it has been so well accepted, that,—besides the many things that have been said and written to me from many parts,—of the very large number that was printed of my book, there does not remain one single volume in the hands of the booksellers.

Accordingly, daily receiving requests from many friends, and knowing, too, with eqùal certainty, the unexpressed wishes of many others, I have once more addressed myself to my former labours (although occupied in most important undertakings), with the intention, not only of adding the names of those who, having passed in the interim to a better world, thus give me the opportunity of writing their lives at more length, but also of supplying what may have been wanting to the perfection of the first work. For I have had opportunities in the meanwhile of attaining a clearer comprehension respecting many things, and of re-examining others; not only by the favour of those my most illustrious lords (whom I serve), the refuge and protection of every subject of virtu; but likewise by the facilities which they have supplied of making new researches throughout Italy, and of seeing and examining many things which had not before come under my notice. Thus, it is not enough to say that I have corrected these lives; since they have received such large additions that many of them may be said to be written anew; while many, even of the older masters, which were not before included, have now been added to the number. Nor have any labour, cost, or pains appeared to me too great for the better restoration of the memory of those whom I so greatly honour, or for the discovering of their portraits, and the procuring them, to place before their lives. And, for the more perfect satisfaction of many friends, devoted lovers of art, though not within our ranks, I have brought into a compendious form the greater part of the works of those artists who are still living, but whose talents render them worthy to be held in constant remembrance;

for that consideration which formerly restrained me, need have no influence here, if the matter be well weighed, since I propose to speak of nothing that is not good and worthy of praise. And it may be, that these my words shall serve as a spur, moving each to continue labouring worthily, and to seek to advance himself perpetually from good to better; insomuch, that he who shall write the remainder of this history, may be able to treat his subject with increased grandeur and majesty, as having to enumerate those more rare and perfect works, which, in the lapse of time, inspired by the longing for immortality, and worked out by the efforts of exalted minds, the future world shall behold, proceeding from your hands. Then the youth who pursue these studies, incited by the love of glory (when the love of gain has not so strong an influence) may perchance become inflamed by the example, and in their turn attain to excellence.

And that this book may be complete in all its parts, so that the reader shall not need to seek anything beyond it, I have added great part of the works of the most celebrated ancient masters, as well Greek as of other nations, the memory of whom has been preserved even to our own days by Pliny, and other writers; but for whose pens that memory must have been buried in eternal oblivion, as is the case with so many others. And perhaps this consideration also may increase our desire to labour truly; for, seeing the nobility and greatness of our art, and how, by all nations, but especially by the most exalted minds, and the most potent rulers, it has ever been honoured and rewarded, we may all be the more influenced and impelled to adorn the world with works, infinite as to number and surpassing in their excellence,—whence, embellished by our labours, it may place us on that eminence on which it has maintained those ever admirable and most celebrated spirits.

Accept these my labours, therefore, with a friendly mind; whatsoever they may be, I have anxiously conducted the work to its close, for the glory of art, and to the honour of

artists; receive it then as a sure token and pledge of my heart, which is of nothing more desirous than of your greatness and glory. In the which, I being received by you into your Society (wherefore I am both thankful to you, and rejoiced no little as for mine own part), it appears to me that I always, in a certain sort, participate.

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ERRATA

VOL. II.—LIFE OF SANDRO BOTTICELLI. Note 30.

The Biagio here mentioned is not Vincenzo di Biagio called Catena, but is probably Biagio d'Antonio Tucci (1446-1515). Catena was a Venetian, not a Tuscan, and was the well-known painter of the martyrdom of Saint Christina, a picture in the Church of S. Maria Mater Domini in Venice.

VOL. II.—LIFE OF PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA. Note 9.

There is doubt as to who the Bramante here mentioned may be. Bramante the architect was less than eleven years old (according to the dates of Vasari and Milanesi) when Nicholas V. died. If Bramante the architect took part in the work mentioned, his performance must have post-dated the pontificate of Nicholas.

VOL. III.—LIFE OF RAPHAEL. Page 123.

In twenty-ninth line from top of page *for* J. P. Richter *read* A. Richter.

NOTE

In the bibliographies which are prefixed to each life, only works special to each particular chapter are included. There exist, however, many general works which are excluded from the special headings in order to avoid repetition, since each might be cited for nearly all of the biographies in these volumes. Such books are the various art periodicals, the cyclopædiæ and dictionaries, the general histories, or works upon particular galleries or schools of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Kugler, Müntz, Morelli, Richter, Frizzoni, Lafenestre, Mantz, Springer, Symonds, Lübke, Woltmann and Woermann, Perkins, Burckhardt, Bode, and the admirable catalogues of several of the great galleries, such as Berlin, the Brera, etc. For the full titles of these works the general bibliography at the end of the fourth volume should be consulted. For additional special bibliography, referring principally to the earlier lives, see the Appendix.

It is to be remarked that Vasari has at the end of many of his biographies introduced a number of short notices of pupils' works. These notices, in many cases almost complete *hors-d'œuvres*, have usually been omitted by the editors for the economy of space.

GIOVANNI CIMABUE, FLORENTINE PAINTER

[Born 1240; died *circa* 1302.]

THE overwhelming flood of evils by which unhappy Italy had been submerged and devastated had not only destroyed whatever could properly be called buildings, but, a still more deplorable consequence, had totally exterminated the artists themselves, when, by the will of God, in the year 1240, Giovanni Cimabue, of the noble family of that name,[1] was born, in the city of Florence, to give the first light to the art of painting. This youth, as he grew up, being considered by his father and others to give proof of an acute judgment and a clear understanding, was sent to Santa Maria Novella to study letters under a relation, who was then master in grammar to the novices of that convent. But Cimabue, instead of devoting himself to letters, con-

In the annotations to these volumes all references to Milanesi refer to the Florentine edition of Vasari, 1878–1882, by the late Gaetano Milanesi. Notes not numbered, but designated by star, dagger, and double dagger, refer to textual corrections. Differences of one year in dates given are frequently caused by the use on the part of different authorities of so-called "old style" and "new style" in chronology. All of the headings to the lives have been made conformable with those of Milanesi.

[1] Cimabue's name was Cenni di Pepe, and not Gualtieri as stated by Baldinucci.

The lives of Vasari begin practically with the middle of the thirteenth century, the epoch of Dante, of political strife, and civil war. In this period of political fermentation the arts throve; already great churches which belonged not to the old, but to the new, order of things had arisen; the Duomo of Pisa, the cathedrals of Lucca and Parma, San Giovanni of Florence, and Sant' Ambrogio of Milan, and the commencement of Vasari's work, as to the period treated, coincides with the new birth of sculpture with Niccola Pisano, of painting with Giotto di Bondone.

sumed the whole day in drawing men, horses, houses, and other various fancies, on his books and different papers,—an occupation to which he felt himself impelled by nature; and this natural inclination was favoured by fortune, for the governors of the city had invited certain Greek painters to Florence, for the purpose of restoring the art of painting, which had not merely degenerated, but was altogether lost. These artists, among other works, began to paint the chapel of the Gondi, situate next the principal chapel, in Santa Maria Novella,[2] the roof and walls of which are now almost entirely destroyed by time,—and Cimabue, often escaping from the school, and having already made a commencement in the art he was so fond of, would stand watching those masters at their work, the day through. Judging from these circumstances, his father, as well as the artists themselves, concluded him to be well-endowed for painting, and thought that much might be hoped from his future efforts, if he were devoted to that art. Giovanni was accordingly, to his no small satisfaction, placed with those masters. From this time he laboured incessantly, and was so far aided by his natural powers, that he soon greatly surpassed his teachers both in design and colouring. For these masters, caring little for the progress of art, had executed their works as we now see them, not in the excellent manner of the ancient Greeks, but in the rude modern style of their own day. Wherefore, though Cimabue imitated his Greek instructors, he very much improved the art, relieving it greatly from their uncouth manner, and doing honour to his country by the name that he acquired, and by the works which he performed. Of this we have evidence in Florence, from the pictures which he painted there, as, for example,

[2] Vasari is in error regarding the painting of the Gondi chapel by Greek masters who antedated Cimabue, for the church itself was not begun until that artist was forty years old. Cimabue was one of the earliest painters who could at once be called great and individual. Grandeur and beauty re-entered into painting in his work, but the history of Italian art is the history of an evolution, and no one artist can be considered as the father of Italian painting.

Cimabue. Madonna and Child.

the front of the altar[3] of Santa Cecilia,[4] and a picture of the Virgin, in Santa Croce, which was, and is still, attached to one of the pilasters on the right of the choir.[5] After this he painted a small picture of St. Francis,[6] in panel, on a gold ground, drawing it, a new thing in those times, from nature,[7] with such means as he could obtain, and placing around it the whole history of the saint in twenty small pictures, full of minute figures, on a ground of gold.

Having afterwards undertaken to paint a large picture in the abbey of the Santa Trinità in Florence, for the monks of Vallombrosa, he made great efforts to justify the high opinion already formed of him, and evinced improved powers of invention in that work, and displayed a fine manner in the attitudes of the Virgin, whom he depicted with the child in her arms, and with numerous angels, in the act of worship, around her; on a gold ground. The picture being finished, was placed by the monks over the high-altar of the church,[8] whence, being afterwards removed to give

[3] The altar, though very simple in the time of the early Christians, became more complex in the middle ages, especially as regards decoration. Back of it, or upon it, was usually a devotional picture, called the altar-piece, and this was frequently surmounted by a semicircular picture of smaller size, called a *Lunette*. The frame of the altar-piece was often richly ornamented with heads or arabesques. The altar-piece was frequently provided with doors which might be painted on both sides. A picture with one door was called a Diptych, as there were two panels; with two doors it was a Triptych. In some cases there were many doors; it was then known as a Polyptych. Under the altar-piece was a small compartment known as the Tabernacle, which was used to contain the reserved sacrament. The door, or doors of the Tabernacle, were usually richly ornamented. The step on the top of the altar on which the candlesticks, crucifix, flower-vases, etc., were placed, was called the *predella*, or *gradino*, and was often decorated with paintings, usually three or five in number. There is a recent series of articles on "Christian Altars and their Accessories," by Mr. C. C. Coleman, in the Architectural Record, IV., 3 and V., 3. New York, 1895.

[4] This work, which is not considered authentic, is now in the Florentine Academy.

[5] This picture is in the National Gallery at London. It is doubtful if it was painted by Cimabue.

[6] Still in the chapel of St. Francis in Santa Croce, but probably not by Cimabue.

[7] Here drawn from nature means drawn from a living model, but not from St. Francis himself, who had died many years before.

[8] This picture is in the Academy at Florence.

place to that work of Alexis Baldovinetti,[9] which remains there to this day, it was placed in a smaller chapel of the south aisle of the same church.

Cimabue next painted in fresco[10] at the hospital of the Porcellana, at the corner of the Via Nuova, which leads into the Borgo Ogni Santi.[11] On the front of this building, which has the principal door in the centre, he painted the Virgin receiving the annunciation from the angel, on one side, and Jesus Christ, with Cleophas, and Luke, on the other; all figures of the size of life. In this work he departed still more decidedly from the dry formal manner of his instructors, giving more life and movement to the draperies, vestments, and other accessories, and rendering all more flexible and natural than was common to the manner of those Greeks, whose works were full of hard lines and sharp angles, as well in mosaic as in painting. And this rude, unskilful, and common-place manner, the Greeks had acquired, not so much from study or of settled purpose, as from having servilely followed certain fixed rules and habits, transmitted through a long series of years, by one painter to another down to those times, while none ever thought of the amelioration of his design, the embellishment of his colouring, or the improvement of his invention. This work being completed, Cimabue was again summoned by the same prior, who had employed him for the works of Santa

[9] The picture by Baldovinetti was in turn removed to give place to Dandini's painting of the Trinity.

[10] Fresco is a method of painting on walls or other surfaces, which are covered with a ground or plaster, with which, if they are properly chosen and applied, the colors will become incorporated. Fresco may be divided into two classes, first the true fresco (Italian, *buon fresco*), and, second, dry fresco (Italian, *fresco a secco*). In the true fresco the painting is done on the wet surface, made of sand and lime. The earthy pigments are chiefly used because they are not decomposed by the lime. The color sinks into the wet plaster, which on drying absorbs carbon dioxide from the air and forms in reality a crystalline layer over the painting, protecting it. In the dry fresco the last coat of plaster (*intonaco*), when dry, is scraped smooth, then wetted thoroughly a few hours before painting, and also immediately before the work is begun. (See also note 23.)

[11] This painting was destroyed. The hospital no longer exists.

Croce, and he now painted for him a colossal crucifix on wood, which is still to be seen in that church.[12] The execution of this crucifix gave great satisfaction to the prior, who caused the artist to accompany him to his convent of San Francesco in Pisa, where Cimabue painted a picture of San Francesco. This was considered by the Pisans to be a work of extraordinary merit, having more beauty of expression in the head, and more grace in the draperies, than had ever been seen in the Greek manner up to that time, not only in Pisa, but in Italy.[13]

Cimabue afterwards painted for the same church a large picture of the Virgin,[14] with the Infant in her arms, and with angels around her,—this also was on a gold ground; it was soon afterwards removed from the position it had first occupied to make way for the marble altar which now stands there, and was placed within the church, near the door, and on the left hand; for this work Cimabue obtained high praise, and was largely rewarded by the Pisans. In the same city of Pisa, he also painted, at the request of the then abbot of San Paolo in Ripa d'Arno, a small picture of St. Agnes, on panel, with the whole story of her life around her, in small figures; this picture is now over the altar of the Virgin in the above-named church.[15] The name of Cimabue becoming widely known by these labours, he was invited to Assisi, a city of Umbria, where, in company with certain Greek masters, he painted a portion of the vaulted roof in the lower church of San Francesco,[16]

[12] A crucifix is still in the sacristy which has been ascribed to Cimabue.

[13] The picture of San Francesco is lost.

[14] This picture is in the Louvre. [15] The St. Agnes is lost.

[16] We have inserted here Vasari's description of the building of San Francesco. It is taken from the life of Arnolfo di Lapo.

"It was about this time that the order of Friars Minors of St. Francis was founded, and this order, being confirmed by Pope Innocent III. in 1206, extended itself in such a manner, not only in Italy, but in all other parts of the world, (devotion to the saint increasing together with the number of the friars,) that there was scarcely any city of importance which did not build churches and convents for them, at a vast amount of cost, and each according to its means. These things being so, the Frate Elia, two years before the death of

together with the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis, on the walls of the same church. In these works

St. Francis, and while the saint was preaching abroad, as General of the Order, leaving Frate Elia prior in Assisi,—this Elia commenced the building of a church to the honour of the *Virgin*; but St. Francis dying in the meantime, all Christendom came flocking to visit the body of him who, in life and in death, was known to be so much the friend of God, when every man, making an offering to the holy place according to his ability, large sums were collected, and it was decreed that the church, commenced by the Frate Elia, should be continued on a much more extended and magnificent scale. There was then a great scarcity of good architects, and as the work to be done required an excellent artist, having to be built upon a very high hill, at the foot of which flows a torrent called the Tescio, a certain Maestro Jacopo,* a German, was invited to Arezzo, after much deliberation, as the best who was then to be found. This Jacopo, having received the commands of the fathers, who were then holding a general chapter of their order respecting this matter in Assisi, then carefully examined the site, and designed the plan of a very beautiful church and convent. The model presented three ranges of buildings, placed one above the other: the lowermost subterranean; the two others forming two churches, of which the first was to serve as a vestibule, with a spacious portico and colonnade around it; the second was set apart for the sanctuary, the entrance to this last being by a very convenient range of steps, ascending to the principal chapel, and these, being divided into two flights, encircled the chapel, that the upper church might be attained the more commodiously. To this temple Maestro Jacopo gave the form of the letter T, the length being equal to five times the breadth, and the roof being raised on bold groined arches, supported by massive piers; after this model he constructed the whole of this truly grand edifice, observing the same order throughout every part, excepting that, instead of pointed, he raised round arches on the upper supports between the apsis and the principal chapel, as considered of greater strength. Before the principal chapel of the lower church was placed the altar, beneath which, when completed, the body of St. Francis was laid with great solemnity; and, since the actual sepulchre, in which the body of the glorious saint reposes, was never to be approached by the foot of man, the first, that is the subterranean church,† had its doors walled up, and around

* Morelli (Italian Masters in German Galleries) refers to the fact that the people of the extreme north of Italy, Ticino, Como, etc., were often called "Alemanni," so that we may reasonably doubt that San Francesco was built by a German, as the style is not German but Italian Gothic.

† The history of this *invisible* church—blindly believed by all, and transmitted from age to age, down to our own days—was ultimately disproved, when, diligent search being made for the remains of St. Francis, in the year 1818, it was found that this said church had never existed, and that the body of the holy patriarch had been buried in a tomb partly hewn from the rock, but afterwards closed in with very thick walls, under the high altar of the lower church. See *Memorie storiche del ritrovamento delle sacre spoglie di San Francesco D'Assisi.* Assisi, 1824.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1846.

he greatly surpassed those Greek masters,[17] and encouraged by this, he began alone to paint the upper church in fresco. In the apsis of the church, beyond the choir, he painted certain passages from the history of the Virgin, in four compartments,—her death, when her soul is borne by Christ to Heaven upon a throne of clouds,—and her coronation, when he places the crown on her head in the midst of a choir of angels; numerous saints, male and female, standing below; works now nearly obliterated by time and dust. In the vaults of the roof, which are five,[18] Cimabue depicted various historical scenes in like manner. In the

the above-named altar was placed a very large iron grating, richly adorned with marbles and mosaic, which permitted the tomb beneath to be seen. Two sacristies were erected beside the building, with a campanile, the height of which was equal to five times its diameter; a very high pyramid of eight sides surmounted the tower, but this, being in danger of falling, was removed. The whole work was, by the genius of Maestro Jacopo, the German, and the attentive care of Frate Elia, completed within the space of four years only. After the death of Elia, and to the end that this vast building might never be destroyed by time, twelve enormous towers were erected around the lower church, in each of which a spiral staircase was constructed ascending from the ground to the summit of the edifice. In the course of time, also, many chapels, and other rich embellishments of various kinds, have been added."

[17] And the works of his master, Giunta da Pisa.

[18] According to Woltmann and Woermann, History of Painting, Cimabue has one fresco of a Madonna and Angels in the north transept of the lower church, while in the north transept of the upper there is a Last Judgment which resembles his work, but is too seriously damaged to admit of verification. In the nave of the upper church three of the five bays of the vaulting are decorated by Cimabue, the other two having only gold stars on a blue ground. The western bay contains the four Fathers of the Church; the central, medallion heads of Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, and Francis; the eastern, the four Evangelists. The two courses of pictures upon the walls, by Cimabue and his pupils, comprise thirty-six subjects, two in each bay, some of them practically destroyed, and many of them badly damaged.

Genesis, as far as the story of Joseph, is illustrated on the south wall; Gospel History, on the north wall; the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost are the lower subjects of the west wall; above are figures of Paul and Peter. Rain, which has considerably injured the vaulting, has nevertheless introduced some lovely accidental colouring caused by the running of the blues and greens, these latter being the prevailing tones in the very beautiful general scheme of coloration. In the spring of 1892 the vaulting was being restored, but the artist assured us that he should limit himself to filling in flat tones, and should restore no lines arbitrarily.

first, over the choir, he placed the four Evangelists, larger than life, and so well done, that even in our days they are admitted to possess much merit, the freshness of colouring in the flesh-tints proving that painting in fresco was, thanks to the labours of Cimabue, beginning to make important advances. The second vault he adorned with golden stars on a ground of ultramarine. In the third he painted, in medallions, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mother, St. John the Baptist, and St. Francis, that is, a figure in each medallion, and a medallion in each bay of the vault. Between this and the fifth vault, he painted the fourth, also in stars of gold on a ground of ultramarine, like the second. In the fifth he placed the four Doctors of the Church, and beside each of the Doctors stood a brother of one of the four principal religious orders; without doubt, a most laborious work, and executed with extreme diligence. When the vaults were completed, Cimabue next painted the upper part of the wall of the north aisle, also in fresco, through the whole length of the church. Near the high altar, and in the space between the windows entirely up to the roof, he painted eight historical pictures from the Old Testament, beginning with the early chapters of Genesis, and taking the most prominent events in due order. Around the windows, and to the point where they terminate in the gallery which encircles the interior of the building, he depicted the remaining portions of the Old Testament in eight other historical scenes. Opposite to these pictures, and also in sixteen compartments, he painted the lives of the Virgin and of Jesus Christ; while on the end façade, below, over the principal door, and around the rose window, he placed the ascension of the Virgin in heaven, together with the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles. This work, truly great and rich, and most admirably executed, must, in my opinion, have caused the utmost astonishment in the world of that day, more especially as the art of painting had been for so long a time in complete darkness. To myself, who saw it for the second time in

the year 1563, it appeared most beautiful, more particularly when I considered that obscurity of art from the shades of which Cimabue had found means to elicit so much light. But of all these paintings (a thing which merits consideration), those of the vaults being less exposed to dust and other accidents, are in much better preservation than any of the others. Having completed these works, Cimabue began to paint the lower part of the walls, namely from the windows downwards, and made some progress therein, but being recalled to Florence by his private affairs, he did not continue this work, and it was finished, as will be seen in its due place, by Giotto, many years after.

Having thus returned to Florence, Cimabue next worked in the cloister of Santo Spirito.[19] The entire side next the church is painted by other masters, in the Greek manner; but three arches, containing events from the life of Christ, are by his own hand, and certainly display much power of design. About the same time he sent some of his works, executed in Florence, to Empoli, where they are still preserved[20] with great veneration in the parochial church of that place. He afterwards painted the picture of the Virgin, for the church of Santa Maria Novella, where it is suspended on high, between the chapel of the Rucellai family and that of the Bardi, of Vernio.[21] This picture is of larger size than any figure that had been painted down to those times; and the angels surrounding it, make it evident that, although Cimabue still retained the Greek manner, he was nevertheless gradually approaching the mode of outline and general method of modern times. Thus it happened that this work was an object of so much admiration to the people of that day—they having then never seen anything better—that it was carried in solemn procession, with the sound of trum-

[19] The works executed by Cimabue in Santo Spirito have perished.

[20] Some remains of old pictures still exist in the chapter house, but they do not appear to be of the time of Cimabue. See Milanesi.

[21] The Madonna of the Rucellai still exists in the church of Santa Maria Novella. It is one of Cimabue's greatest works.

pets and other festal demonstrations, from the house of Cimabue to the church, he himself being highly rewarded and honoured for it. It is further reported, and may be read in certain records of old painters, that, whilst Cimabue was painting this picture, in a garden near the gate of San Pietro, King Charles the Elder, of Anjou,[22] passed through Florence, and the authorities of the city, among other marks of respect, conducted him to see the picture of Cimabue. When this work was thus shewn to the king, it had not before been seen by any one; wherefore all the men and women of Florence hastened in great crowds to admire it, making all possible demonstrations of delight. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, rejoicing in this occurrence, ever afterwards called that place Borgo Allegri; and this name it has ever since retained, although in process of time it became enclosed within the walls of the city.

In San Francesco of Pisa—where Cimabue painted some other pictures, as has been already remarked—may be seen a painting in distemper,[23] by his hand;[24] it is in the cloister, near the door which leads into the church, and is a small picture representing Christ on the Cross, with numerous angels around him; they are weeping, and supporting with their hands certain words, which are written round the head of

[22] Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France, passed through Florence in 1267, one year after his coronation as King of Sicily. Neither Malespini nor Villani records his visit to Cimabue, and the name of *Borgo Allegri* probably had another derivation.—Milanesi, abridged.

[23] *Tempera*, or distemper, is a process of painting in which solid pigments are mixed with a water medium in which a gummy or gelatinous material is used to prevent the colour scaling off. The yolk of an egg or the milky juice from the shoots of the fig-tree was employed by many of the old masters to make the colour adhere. The advantages of *tempera* are that the design may be transferred to a dry wall on which the painter may work at leisure; and that a greater range of pigments may be employed. The *tempera* process may be applied to wood, vellum, or other surfaces. *Tempera* should not be confounded with dry fresco (*fresco a secco*), which is described in note 10.

[24] The pictures in San Francesco are lost. The colossal mosaic in the apsis of the cathedral of Pisa was designed by Cimabue. It was commenced in 1301 or 1302, and the figure of the Virgin is by one Vincinus of Pistoja, and was executed in 1321.

Christ, and which they direct towards the ear of the Virgin, who stands, also weeping, on the right hand; while on the left is John the Evangelist, towards whom they likewise direct a portion of the scroll, and whose expression is one of deep grief. The words addressed to the Virgin are, "Mulier ecce filius tuus," and those to St. John, "*Ecce mater tua.*" A third sentence, supported by another angel, placed somewhat apart, is as follows: "*Ex illâ horâ accepit eam discipulus in suam.*" Hence we perceive that Cimabue originated the invention of lending the aid of words to art, for the better expression of the meaning,—certainly a new and peculiar expedient.

By these and other works, Cimabue had now acquired a great name, as well as large profits, and was appointed—together with Arnolfo Lapi, an artist then highly renowned in architecture—to superintend the building of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence.[25] But at length, and when he had lived sixty years, he departed to another life, in the year 1300,[26] having achieved little less than the resurrection of painting from the dead. He left many disciples, and, among others, Giotto, who afterwards became a most eminent painter, and long dwelt in the house inhabited by his master, in the Via del Cocomero. Cimabue was entombed in Santa Maria del Fiore, the following epitaph being composed on him by one of the Nini:

"Credidit ut Cimabos picturæ castra tenere
Sic tenuit, vivens, nunc tenet astra poli."

I will not omit to observe, that if the greatness of Giotto, his disciple, had not diminished the glory of Cimabue, his fame would have risen still higher, as Dante remarks in his *Commedia*, where, alluding, in the eleventh

[25] This statement of Vasari has not been substantiated either by documents or the writings of early authors.

[26] 1302 rather.

canto of the Purgatorio, to this inscription on the tomb,[27] he says:

> "Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
> Si che la fama di colui s' oscura." [28]

Alluding to these verses, a commentator of Dante,[29] who wrote while Giotto was still living — ten or twelve years after the death of Dante himself;[30] that is, about the year 1334 — has the following remarks. He is speaking of Cimabue, and these are his precise words: "Cimabue, of Florence, a painter of the time of our author, knew more of the noble art than any other man; but he was so arrogant and proud withal, that if any one discovered a fault in his work, or if he perceived one himself (as will often happen to the artist, who fails from the defects in the material that he uses, or from insufficiency of the instrument with which he works), he would instantly destroy that work, however costly it might be. Giotto, of that same city of Florence, was, and is, the most eminent of painters; and his works bear testimony for him in Rome, in Naples, at Avignon, Florence, Padua, and many other parts of the world." This commentary is now in the hands of the Rev. Don Vincenzio Borghini, prior of the Innocents, a man not only illustrious for elevation of mind, for goodness, and for learning, but also a lover of, and so well versed in, all the nobler arts, that he has merited to be elected, as by our lord

[27] As the epitaph was written after the publication of the *Commedia*, Dante could hardly have referred to it in his lines.

[28] "Cimabue thought to lord it over Painting's field;
And now the cry is Giotto's, and his name eclipsed."
Dante, Cary's Translation.

[29] This commentary, which is known as the *Anonimo*, was first published in Pisa by Alessandro Torri, 1827-30.

[30] It is said that Cimabue taught Dante drawing, and possibly also painting. Boccaccio mentions the fact, and Dante himself says in the *Vita Nuova* "whilst I thought of her [Beatrice] I drew an angel."

the Duke Cosmo he judiciously has been, to the office of ducal representative (vice-president) in our Academy of Design. But to return to Cimabue: Giotto certainly did obscure his fame, as a great light diminishes the splendour of a lesser one; so that, although Cimabue may be considered, perhaps, the first cause of the restoration of the art of painting, yet Giotto, his disciple, impelled by laudable ambition, and well aided by heaven and nature, was the man who, attaining to superior elevation of thought, threw open the gates of the true way to those who afterwards exalted the art to that perfection and greatness which it displays in our age; when, accustomed as men are, daily, to see the prodigies and miracles, nay, the impossibilities, now performed by artists, they have arrived at such a point that they no longer marvel at anything accomplished by men, even though it be more divine than human. Fortunate, indeed, are they who now labour, however meritoriously, if they do not incur blame instead of praise; nay, if they can even escape disgrace.

The portrait of Cimabue may be seen in the chapter of Santa Maria Novella. It is by Simon of Siena, and is in his picture of the Church Militant and Triumphant.[31] This portrait is in profile, the face meagre, the beard short, reddish, and pointed; the head enveloped in a hood, after the manner of that day, which is folded gracefully beneath the chin, and closely wraps the throat. The figure beside Cimabue is Simon of Siena, author of the work, who has painted himself by means of two mirrors, placed opposite each other, and which have enabled him to give his head in profile. The soldier in armour, standing between them, is supposed to be Count Guido Novelli, then signore of Poppi. Of Cimabue there remains still to say, that, in the commencement of a book wherein I have collected drawings by the hand of every artist who has followed him to these

[31] The paintings of the Spanish chapel in S. Maria Novella are described in the life of Simone Martini.

days,[32] there are some few little things done by him in miniature, from which, although they may now seem rather crude than otherwise, we may yet perceive how greatly the art of design was improved by his labours.[33]

[32] The remarkable collection of drawings possessed by Vasari has been dispersed. He mentions "my book" in many of the lives.

[33] Tradition, even more than his existing works, has made Cimabue famous, since the double testimony of Dante and Vasari has inclined many writers to call him the Father of Italian Painting, by an exaggeration based upon a misunderstanding of the real evolution of art. Still, notwithstanding his Byzantinism and rigidity, we can see in the movement of his Christ Child in Santa Maria Novella, and especially in his frescoes of the upper church of Assisi, some of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, steps in the direction of modern art. "An expression," says Taine in his *Italie*, "even when a feeble one, is it not a miraculous thing, like the first confused stammerings of a mute on suddenly recovering his speech?" And there really is an attempt at expression in Cimabue; his figures try to move, and try with a success which delighted the Florentines, accustomed to the wooden and rigid Byzantine figures.

Although Dante's notice, the tale of the procession in Borgo Allegri and the place which Vasari has given to this painter at the beginning of his Lives, combine to confer prestige upon Cimabue and to make him the initial figure of Italian pictorial art, yet we must not forget that a far wider line of demarcation is drawn between the pupil Giotto and Cimabue, than between the latter and certain earlier masters. In the great Madonna of Santa Maria Novella, and in the figures of the frescoes that line the upper walls at Assisi, the spark of life has already been communicated by Cimabue, the figures move, Noah and his family indeed, in the story of the Ark, move almost with violence, but they are still so Byzantine in their crinkled, pointed drapery, that their mountain seems Athos rather than Ararat. Even Duccio, a whole world removed by his power, expression, and science from Cimabue, is somewhat Byzantine; he is like a wonderful survival, rising immeasurably above those who for centuries had preceded him, yet partaking of their nature. Giotto is the innovator, the pioneer; in his frescoes the mediæval Tuscan enters art as a pictured presence, not the *simulacrum* of the missal but the real, living man of the *Novelle* of Sacchetti. Niccola precedes Giotto by a generation or more, as sculpture chronologically is the forerunner of painting, but together, Niccola and Giotto stand as the warders of the gates of Italian Art.

ARNOLFO DI LAPO,[1] FLORENTINE ARCHITECT

[Born 1232 (?); died 1310.]

ARNOLFO,[2] by whose labours architecture made equal progress with that of painting under the influence of Cimabue, was born in the year 1232, and was thirty years old when his father died. He had already attained high repute, having not only acquired from his father whatever the latter could teach, but also studied the art of design under Cimabue, for the purpose of employing it in sculpture. He was now considered the best architect in Tuscany, and the Florentines confided to him the construction of the outer circle of their city walls, which were founded in 1284; they also erected the Loggia of Or San Michele, their corn market, after his plans,[3] covering it with a simple roof, and building the piers of brick. In that year, when the cliff of the Magnoli, undermined by water, sank down on the side of San Giorgio, above Santa Lucia, on the Via de' Bardi, the Florentines issued a decree, to the effect that no building should be thenceforward erected on that place, which they declared to be rendered perilous by the cause above stated; herein they followed the counsels of Arnolfo, and his judgment has proved to be correct by the ruin in our day of

[1] Arnolfo was not the son of Lapo, but of Cambio, a native of Colle di Val d' Elsa. Lapo was his fellow-pupil under Niccola Pisano, who "*Secum ducat Senas Arnolfum et Lapum suos discipulos*" to work on the Sienese pulpit. Lapo was son of Ciuccio di Ciuto, and brother of Goro and Donato; they all three obtained the citizenship of Siena in 1272. The sculptor's real name is, therefore, Arnolfo di Cambio. See Milanesi, I. 283, note 4.

[2] Several pages from the commencement of Vasari's Arnolfo have been omitted here as they are foreign to the subject. The life of the sculptor-architect really begins at this point.

[3] In 1284.

many magnificent houses and other buildings. In the year 1285, Arnolfo founded the Loggia and piazza of the Priori, he rebuilt the principal chapel of the Badia (abbey) of Florence[4] with one on each side of it, restoring the church and choir,[5] which had been constructed on a much smaller scale by Count Ugo, the founder of that abbey. For Cardinal Giovanni degli Orsini, the Pope's legate in Tuscany, Arnolfo erected the campanile of the above-mentioned church,[6] a work highly appreciated in those times, and deservedly so; but the stone-work of this tower was not completed until the year 1330. In the year 1294, the church of Santa Croce, belonging to the Friars Minors,[7] was founded after the designs of Arnolfo, when he gave so ample an extent to the nave and side aisles of this building, that the excessive width rendered it impossible to bring the arches within the roof; he therefore, with much judgment, raised arches from pier to pier, and on these he constructed the roofs, from which he conducted the water by stone gutters, built on the arches, giving them such a degree of inclination that the roofs were secured from all injury from damp. The novelty and ingenuity of this contrivance was equal to its utility, and well deserves the consideration of our day. At a later period,[8] Arnolfo gave the plans for the first cloisters to the old convent of this church, and soon afterwards

[4] The Badia was founded in 978, not by Ugo as Villani and Vasari relate, but by Ugo's mother, Countess Willa, daughter of the great Marquis Boniface. The Campanile was not finished by Arnolfo but postdates his death.

[5] Modernized 1625.

[6] Arnolfo was dead at the time (1330) that Cardinal Orsini asked the Signoria to restore the Campanile of the Badia. See Milanesi, I. 284, note 3.

[7] Santa Croce, as one enters, seems vast, cold, and bare; here again, as in the Duomo, Arnolfo appears to have believed that great parts would necessarily make up a great *ensemble*. We must not forget, however, that the architect meant Santa Croce to have a painted decoration throughout. As has been well said, Arnolfo gives us only the walls, saying, "immortal hands are to write upon them," and, in fact, the personal interest connected with this Pantheon of the great Florentines is so poignant, the painted preaching of Giotto is so eloquent, that one hardly thinks of the architecture at all.

[8] In 1293, according to Villani.

superintended the removal of the various arches* and tombs,[9] in stone and marble, by which the external walls of the church of San Giovanni were surrounded,[10] placing a part of them behind the campanile, and on the façade of the Canonical Palace, near the oratory of San Zenobio ; he then covered the eight walls of the above-named church of San Giovanni with black marble from Prato, removing the stones which had been suffered to remain between those old marbles. About the same time, the Florentines desired to erect certain buildings in the upper Valdarno, above the fortress of San Giovanni [11] and Castel Franco, for the greater convenience of the inhabitants and the more commodious supply of their markets ; they entrusted the design of these works also to Arnolfo, in the year 1295, when he so completely satisfied them on this, as he had done on other occasions, that he was elected a citizen of Florence.

All these undertakings being completed, the Florentines resolved, as Giovanni Villani relates in his History, to construct a cathedral church in their city, determining to give it such extent and magnificence that nothing superior or more beautiful should remain to be desired from the power or industry of man. Arnolfo then prepared the plans and executed the model of that temple, which can never be sufficiently extolled, the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, directing that the external walls should be encrusted with polished marbles, rich cornices, pilasters, columns, carved foliage, figures

* The Italian word *arche* in the original text means sarcophagi, not *arches*, as translated.

[9] Some of these sarcophagi are now in the court-yard of the Riccardi palace. These antique marble coffins were used as sepulchres during the middle ages by noble Italian families, and mediæval coats of arms were sculptured on the lids above the Pagan *bas-reliefs*. It was the arched form of these lids which gave the sarcophagi their Italian name *arche*. Boccaccio refers to them in his story of Guido Cavalcanti, Decameron, *Gior. VI., Nov.* 9.

[10] Rumohr will only admit that Arnolfo incrusted a portion of the exterior. According to Perkins this work was done in 1292.

[11] Rather to *wall* Castelfranco and San Giovanni. Three different authorities give the date of walling as 1298, 1300, and 1296. The last date is Giov. Villani's.

and other ornaments, with which we now see it brought, if not entirely, yet in a great measure to completion. But what was most of all wonderful in that work, was the fact, that he incorporated the church of Santa Reparata, besides other small churches and houses, which stood around it, in his edifice, yet, in arranging the design of his ground plan (which is most beautiful), he proceeded with so much care and judgment, making the excavations wide and deep, and filling them with excellent materials, such as flint and lime, and a foundation[12] of immense stones, that they have proved equal, as we still see, to the perfect support of that enormous construction, the cupola, which Filippo di Ser Brunellesco erected upon them, and which Arnolfo had probably not even thought of placing thereon: nay, from the fame acquired by these constructions, the place is still called "Lungo-i-Fondamenti."[13]

The foundation of this edifice was celebrated with much solemnity, the first stone being laid on the birthday of the Virgin, in the year 1298, by the Cardinal legate of the Pope, in the presence, not only of many bishops and of all the clergy, but also of the Podestà, the captains, priors, and other magistrates of the city, together with the whole assembled people of Florence; the church receiving the name of "Santa Maria del Fiore."[14] But as the cost of this fabric was expected to be very great, as it was indeed found to be, a tax of four deniers the pound was levied by the Chamber of the Commune on all merchandize exported from the city, together with a poll-tax of two soldi per head, the Pope and legate also granting large indulgences to whomsoever should offer contributions towards the building. Nor must I omit

[12] Arnolfo is said to have worked out the construction as regards stability with the aid of curious geometrical combinations, and to have dug a series of subterranean wells at intervals all around the building in order that they might emit the gases generated in the centre of the earth and thus lessen the danger of earthquakes! See Perkins' Tuscan Sculptors.

[13] "Beside the foundations."

[14] The name of the Duomo, "Santa Reparata," was not changed to Santa Maria del Fiore until 1412.

to say, that in addition to the ample foundations, fifteen braccia[15] deep, strong buttresses were added to each angle of the eight sides, and from these supports it was that Brunellesco derived courage to lay a greater weight on the walls, perhaps, than that Arnolfo had calculated on. The two first side doors of Santa Maria del Fiore were commenced in marble, and it is said that Arnolfo caused fig-leaves to be cut in the frieze, these leaves belonging to his arms and those of his father Lapo,[16] from which it may be inferred that the family of the Lapi, now among the nobles of Florence, descends from him. Others declare, moreover, that Filippo di Ser Brunellesco was also a descendant of Arnolfo; but to have done with conjecture,—for many believe the Lapi family to come from Figaruolo, a castle situated at the mouth of the Po,—let us return to our Arnolfo, of whom it may be affirmed, that for the grandeur of this work, he has well merited infinite praise and an eternal name. The walls of the building were almost entirely covered externally with marbles of various colours, and within with Florentine granite, even to the most minute corners of the edifice.[17] And that all may know the exact extent of this marvellous fabric, I add the measurements. Its length, from the door to the chapel of San Zenobio, is 260 braccia, and the breadth across the transepts 166, that of the nave and side aisles 66; the height of the central nave is 72 braccia, that of the side aisles 48; the external circumference is 1280 braccia; the height of the cupola, from the pavement to the base of the

[15] A *braccio* may be usually taken as 23 inches, but the unit of measure varied according to the part of Italy where it was used, thus in Milan the *braccio* for cloth was 39 inches, while in Siena it was only 14 inches. The nature of the material sometimes affected the measure, for example, in Parma the wool *braccio* was 25 + inches, while for silk it was 23 inches. The Florentine *braccio* was 23 inches.—From Mrs. Foster's Notes to the Life of Taddeo Gaddi.

[16] Lapo was not Arnolfo's father; see note 1.

[17] In 1397 the Duomo was enlarged by Francesco Talenti; he heightened the lateral walls, changed in part their external decoration, and added two arches to the western end of the nave. For the sculptors who worked on the *façade*, see Perkins' Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 389.

lantern 154 braccia;[18] the lantern is 36 braccia high, exclusive of the ball, which is four braccia, and the cross eight, making the whole height of the cupola, from the ground to the top of the cross, 202 braccia.[19] Arnolfo, being now considered, as he was, a most excellent architect, had so completely acquired the confidence of the Florentines, that no work of importance was undertaken without his advice; thus, having finished in that same year the foundations of the outer-wall of the city, which he had commenced as above related,[20] together with the towers of the gates, all of which he nearly completed, he next planned and commenced the Palazzo de' Signori,[21] the design of which is similar to that of Casentino, built by his father, Lapo, for the Counts of Poppi. But however grand and magnificent the design of Arnolfo, he was not permitted to give his work that perfection which his art and judgment had destined for it. For it had chanced that the houses of those Ghibelline rebels, the Uberti, who had roused the people of Florence to insur-

[18] Measurements of the Cathedral vary somewhat. The length is about 500 feet, width of the nave and aisles 128 feet, height of nave 153 feet, and from the top of the cross to the pavement 387 feet.

[19] The magnificence of the general plan of Santa Maria del Fiore was thrown away in the execution of the details, for Arnolfo calculated that greatness of parts would add to the greatness of the whole, whereas the adoption of only four huge nave arches where a northern architect would have used many more, dwarfs the effect instead of enhancing it, and the empty and bare appearance of the interior is increased by the cold, gray colour of the walls. Nevertheless any one who goes frequently into the cathedral is sure to feel at last the vastness of this enormous building, while upon the exterior the beauty of the triapsidal arrangement must strike even the casual observer. As to the interior, we must not forget that the architect intended it, like Santa Croce, to be frescoed throughout its extent.

[20] Villani speaks of ninety towers, including those of the gates. Few remain. The gates on the right bank of the Arno have been half-razed to bear the cannon of the Medici. The Porta San Niccolò in Oltrarno is still a grand military monument. M. Rohault de Fleury (*La Toscane au moyen age*) says the Porta San Frediano "possesses all the elements necessary to a complete restoration."

[21] The corner-stone was laid in 1298, and Arnolfo still passes as the architect-founder. "He built the old palace and that prodigious tower whose weight of nine million kilogrammes rests partly upon brackets" (*consoles*). See Rohault de Fleury, *La Toscane au moyen age.*

rection, had been razed to the ground, and the site of them levelled; nor would the governor of that day permit Arnolfo to sink the foundations of his edifice on the ground of those rebel Uberti, notwithstanding all the reasons that he alleged.[22] Nay, the stupid obstinacy of these men would not even suffer him to place his building on the square, rather preferring that he should demolish the church of San Piero Scheraggio, of which the north aisle was taken down accordingly, than permit him to work freely in the midst of the space before him, as his plans required. They insisted, moreover, that the tower of Foraboschi, called "Torre della Vacca," fifty braccia high, which was used for the great bell, should be united to and comprised within the palace, together with certain houses purchased by the commune for this edifice. These things considered, we cannot wonder if the foundations of the palace be proved awry and out of square; Arnolfo having been compelled to bring the tower into the centre of the building: and in order to strengthen the latter edifice, he was obliged to surround it with the walls of the palace, which were found to be still in excellent preservation on being examined, in 1551, by the painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, when he restored the palace by the command of the Duke Cosmo.[23] Arnolfo, having thus rendered the tower secure by the excellence of his workmanship, it was not difficult for the masters who succeeded him

[22] M. Rohault de Fleury denies the romantic story that the ground plan of the Palazzo Vecchio was irregular because Arnolfo might not build on ground which had been desecrated by Ghibelline palaces. He affirms that the obliquity of the southern *façade* was caused by the desire to respect the church of San Piero Scheraggio (afterwards demolished). A Sienese archæologist, Signor Romani, has discovered the foundations of the tribune and part of the walls of this church, covered by modern constructions.

[23] The Duke of Athens (*circa* 1338) made a citadel of the palace and flanked the entrance with towers (to be seen in a fresco at the *Stinche*). These were demolished, and later Ghibelline battlements were added to the tower. The *Ringhiera*, a great platform or low terrace for public deliberations, etc., ran along the north and west sides; in 1563 the northern part was sacrificed to Ammanati's fountain of Neptune. In 1813 the architect del Rosso, in spite of his protests, was obliged to raze the remainder of the *Ringhiera*.

to erect upon it the lofty campanile that we now see there,—he not having been able to do more in the remaining two years of his life than complete the palace, which has since received, from time to time, those improvements which render it the noble and majestic edifice we now behold.

After having accomplished all these things, and many others, no less useful than beautiful, Arnolfo died, in the year 1300,[24] and in the seventy-first of his age;[25] he departed exactly at the time when Giovanni Villani began to write the Universal History of his own times; and since he not only founded Santa Maria del Fiore, but also erected the apsis with the three principal arches, (those under the cupola,) to his great glory, he well deserved the inscription to his memory afterwards placed on that side of the church which is opposite to the campanile, these verses were engraved on marble in round letters:—

"Annis millenis centum bis octo nogenis[26]
Venit legatus Roma bonitate dotatus
Qui lapidem fixit fundo simul et benedixit
Præsule Francisco, gestante pontificatum
Istud ab Arnolphó* templum fuit ædificatum
Hoc opus insigne decorans Florentia digne.
Reginæ cœli construxit mente fideli
Quam, tu Virgo pia, semper defende, Maria."

We have thus written the life of Arnolfo as briefly as possible; and if his works are far from approaching the perfection attained in our day, he yet well deserves to be held in grateful remembrance, since, being himself in the midst of so much darkness, he yet showed to those who came after him the true path towards perfection.[27] The portrait of Arnolfo,

* *Arnulfo* in the Milanesi edition.

[24] In 1310, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

[25] Milanesi quotes from the necrology of Santa Reparata as follows: *Obiit magister Arnolfus de l' opera di Sancta Reparata.* MCCCX.

[26] Milanesi uniting the word *bis* to the *octo nogenis* makes the foundation date of Santa Maria del Fiore 1296, not 1298.

[27] An important work of Arnolfo is the monument of Cardinal de la Braye (died 1290) in the Church of San Domenico at Orvieto.

by the hand of Giotto, may be seen in Santa Croce, beside the principal chapel; it is in the figure of one or two men who are speaking together in the foreground of a painting, which represents monks lamenting the death of St. Francis.[28] In the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, a painting of the church of Santa Maria del Fiore may also be seen; it was taken from the model in wood of Arnolfo by Simon of Siena, and represents the exterior, together with the cupola. From this painting, it is obvious that Arnolfo had proposed to raise the dome immediately over the piers and above the first cornice, at that point, namely, where Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, desiring to render the building less heavy, interposed the whole space wherein we now see the windows, before adding the dome. And this fact would be even more clearly obvious, if the model of Arnolfo himself, as well as those of Brunellesco, and others, had not been lost by the carelessness of the persons who directed the works of Santa Maria del Fiore in succeeding years.[29]

[28] This work is lost.

[29] Of Arnolfo's style in detail we know little or nothing; later men have altered it almost completely. But his conception of Florence is largely that of the Florence which we know to-day in its most striking features, the three great semi-domes that raise Brunelleschi's cupola upon their shoulders, the soaring tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, the battlemented walls and vast mass of Santa Croce are all his. Symonds points out that even the Campanile of Giotto, Brunelleschi's cupola, and the Church of San Michele were "placed where he had planned." As a name he stands in the same relation to the First Renaissance that Brunelleschi bears to the Middle and Bramante to the High Renaissance.

NICCOLA AND GIOVANNI. THE PISAN ARCHITECTS AND SCULPTORS.

[The former born between 1205 and 1207; died 1278. The latter born about 1250; died later than 1328.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Under the heading Bibliography only special works directly referring thereto are noted with special lives. Works of general reference, such as Müntz, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance*, or the handbooks and histories of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Perkins, Lafenestre, Mantz, Symonds, Milanesi, Woltman, and others are not mentioned unless their bearing upon the life in question makes the reference especially desirable. The following works are among those which may be consulted concerning the Pisani: Gruner, *Marmor-Bildwerke der Schule der Pisaner*, 1858. Perkins, Tuscan Sculptors, 1854. *Le tre porte del Battistero di Firenze*, 1821. Ruskin, *Val D'Arno*, Oxford Lectures of 1873. *Ueber den Styl Niccolo Pisanos und dessen Ursprung*, Munich, 1873. Massari and Vermiglioli, *Le Sculture di Niccolo é Giovanni da Pisa e di Arnolfo fiorentino che ornano la fontano maggiore di Perugia*, Perugia, 1834. Marchese Virgilio Davia, *Memorie Istor. intorno all' Arca di S. Domenico*, 1842. Gebhart, *Les origines de la Renaissance en Italie*, Paris, 1879. Eugène Müntz, *Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1882. Marcel Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine aux* XIV*me et* XV*me Siècles*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893–94. *Archivio Storico dell' Arte* (Jan.–April, 1895). Marcel Reymond, *L'Angelo che suona del Bargello e la Fontana di Perugia*, *Arch Stor. dell' Arte*. VII. 484–88. Igino Benvenuto Supino, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, V. 66–94, and again in the same work, Vol. I. of second series, Jan.–April, 1895, p. 42. (Sig. Supino is one of the latest and most enthusiastic students of Giovanni Pisano.)

HAVING treated of Design and Painting in the life of Cimabue, and of Architecture in that of Arnolfo Lapi, we will now consider the art of Sculpture in the lives of Niccola and Giovanni of Pisa, and also the most important edifices erected by these artists. Their works, whether in sculpture or architecture, are, as not only great and magnificent, but thoroughly expressed, well worthy of commemoration, they having, in a great measure, liberated both these branches of art from the rude and tasteless old

Greek manner, and having displayed much greater power of invention in their compositions, as well as more grace of attitude in their figures.

Niccola Pisano[1] first worked under certain Greek sculptors, who were executing the figures, and other ornaments in sculpture, of the Duomo of Pisa and the chapel of San Giovanni: among the many spoils of marbles brought by the armaments of Pisa to their city, were several antique sarcophagi, now in the Campo Santo of that town: one of these, on which the Chase of Meleager and the Calydonian boar was cut with great truth and beauty, surpassed all the others; the nude, as well as draped figures, being perfect in design, and executed with great skill.[2] This sarcophagus having been placed, for its beauty, by the Pisans, in that façade of the cathedral which is opposite to San Rocco, and beside the principal door of that front, was used as a tomb for the mother of the Countess Matilda, if we may credit the following words, inscribed on the marble:

"A. D. MCXVI. Kal. Aug. obiit D. Matilda felicis memoriæ comitissa, quæ pro anima genitricis suæ D. Beatricis comitissæ venerabilis in hac tumba honorabili quiescentis in multis partibus mirifice hanc dotavit ecclesiam, quarum animæ requiescant in pace." Then, A. D. MCCCIII sub dignissimo operario Burgundio Tadi occasione graduum fiendorum per ipsum circa ecclesiam supradicta tumba superius notata translata fuit, nunc de sedibus primis in ecclesiam, nunc de ecclesia in hanc locum, ut cernitis, eccellentem.*

Niccola was attracted by the excellence of this work, in which he greatly delighted, and which he studied diligently, with the many other valuable sculptures of the relics around him, imitating the admirable manner of these works

* In the edition of Milanesi the first line reads: *Anno domini XCXVI. IX Kal. Aug obiit D. Matilda, etc.* The sixth line reads *supradictam* instead of *supradicta*, and in the seventh *tunc* replaces *nunc*.

[1] Niccola di Pietro, called Niccola Pisano.

[2] The relief represents not the chase of the Calydonian boar, but Hippolytus and Phædra.

with so much success, that no long time had elapsed before he was esteemed the best sculptor of his time. In those days, no sculptor of great eminence, besides Arnolfo, existed in Tuscany, with the exception of Fuccio, a Florentine architect and sculptor, who built the church of Santa Maria sopra Arno, in Florence, in the year 1229, placing his name over one of the doors of the building. This artist also executed the tomb of the Queen of Cyprus, in the church of San Francesco at Assisi, a monument in marble, adorned with many figures, and particularly with the portrait of the queen herself, seated on a lion, to typify the force of mind of this princess; who left large sums of money, at her death, for the completion of the fabric. But Niccola,[3] having proved himself a much better master than Fuccio, was invited to Bologna in the year 1225,[4] where he was entrusted with the execution of a tomb, in marble,[5] to San Domenico, of Calahor-

[3] There is documentary confusion regarding Niccola's birthplace. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Rumohr, Grimm, Salazaro, Springer and others believe him to have been a native of southern Italy and to have obtained his art education in the south. They cite certain excellent monuments of southern Italy, in support of their opinion that Niccola found much to learn there; the dates of these monuments, however, do not bear out their theory. Their most important citation is that of a contract made for the pulpit of Siena (May 11, 1266,) in which he is mentioned as Master Nicholas son of Peter of Apulia.

Milanesi, Perkins, Müntz, Schnaase, and others hold him to have been a Tuscan; they support their theory upon the internal evidence of his works and upon a document in the archives of Sant Jacopo of Pistoja which declares Niccola to have been the "Son of Peter of the parish of San Biagio at Pisa."

Milanesi furthermore points out the fact that had the pulpit contract been intended to denominate Niccola as a native of the province of Apulia it would have followed the regular formula, "*de partibus Apuliae*" and that as no such formula is used, we must, by the word Apulia, understand a Tuscan town, there being two towns by the name of Pulia, Puglia, or Apulia in the province of Tuscany. The balance of probability is in favor of this solution.

[4] Probably 1265 or 1267, as St. Dominick was not canonized until 1234.

[5] The sculptures on the front and sides are probably by Niccola, those at the back by Fra Guglielmo d'Agnello. (P. Marchese in Milanesi's notes, I. 297.) The *arca* of S. Domenico is described in detail in Marchese, Painters, Sculptors and Architects of the Dominican Order, English Edition, pp. 48-59. The church was wholly modernized in the eighteenth century.

Evidently there never was a man so susceptible to present influences as Nic-

ra,[6] founder of the order of Preaching Friars, who had then but recently died. Concerting his measures, therefore, with those who had the direction of the matter, Niccola constructed the tomb, with the many figures still to be seen on it, finishing the whole in the year 1231,[7] to the great extension of his fame, the work being then considered one of extraordinary merit, and superior to any thing of the kind that had been seen. He also prepared plans for the rebuilding of the church[8] and of the greater part of the convent. When Niccola returned to Tuscany, he found that Fuccio, having left Florence, had gone to Rome, at the time when the Emperor Frederick was crowned by Pope Honorius,[9] and from Rome to Naples with that monarch. In Naples, Fuccio completed the Castel Capuano, now called the Vicaria, wherein all the law-courts of the kingdom are held. He also finished the Castel dell' Uovo; founded the towers, and built the gate, which commands the Volturno, for the city of Capua; laid out a chase, for the sport of fowling, near Gravina; and a second, for hunting in winter, at Melfi; besides many other labours, which are omitted for the sake of brevity. Niccola, meanwhile, remained in Florence, occupied not only in sculpture, but with architecture also; in the buildings which were then in course of construction, and not without merit of design, in all parts of Italy, but particularly in Tuscany. He gave no small aid, at this time, towards the construction

cola. At Pisa, where he saw the antique, he not only educated himself upon it, but actually copied it, while at Bologna, where no old marbles met his eye, he worked with the greater knowledge which he owed to them, "though with no dependence upon them." (See Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 14.) The tomb in its entirety is an epitome of styles of sculpture from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Niccolò dell' Arca (1464), Michelangelo (1494?), Tribolo and others have in turn worked upon it.

[6] St. Dominick. [7] See note 4. [8] San Domenico.

[9] This inscription is now in the Bargello. The form of the letters proves it to be of the thirteenth century. Milanesi found nothing to disprove that Fuccio may have restored the little church of Santa Maria Sopr' Arno in 1300. He may not have been the architect, however, but only the inspector of the restoration. The Signory of Florence gave a commission to restore the pavement of the bridge of the Rubaconte, (now delle Grazie) to a certain Fuccio d' Amadore in 1327.

of the abbey of Settimo,[10] which had not received its completion, from the executors of Count Ugo of Brandenburg, like the other six founded by the same noble, as mentioned above.[11] For although we find engraved on the campanile of this abbey the words "Guglielm me fecit," yet we know certainly, from its style, that it was constructed under the direction of Niccola, who built the old palace of the Anziani, in Pisa,[12] at the same time. This latter edifice has been demolished, in our own days, by Duke Cosmo, for the purpose of erecting on its site, while retaining a portion of the old building, the magnificent palace and convent of the new order of the Knights of St. Stephen, built after the plans and models of the Aretine painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, who has endeavoured to do his best with those old walls, accommodating to them, as much as possible, the new. Many other palaces and churches were constructed in Pisa by Niccola, who was the first, the good method of building having been lost, to found buildings at Pisa on arches raised upon piers, which, in their turn, were supported by piles; for, where this was not practised, the whole edifice was frequently ruined by the sinking of the foundations, whereas the piles rendered all entirely secure, as experience fully demonstrates. The church of San Michele in Borgo,[13] belonging to the monks of Camaldoli, was also built by Niccola;[14] but his most ingenious, most beautiful, and most extraordinary architectural work, was the campanile of San Niccola, of Pisa, near the convent of the Augustine Friars.[15] Externally this building has eight sides, but its form within is circular, with a spiral staircase ascending to the summit; within the stairs a free space is left, in the manner of a well, while on every fourth stair are placed columns, supporting

[10] No records exist to prove this assertion.

[11] There is nothing to prove that Ugo founded these seven abbeys.

[12] This statement can neither be proved nor disproved by existing documents.

[13] In Pisa.

[14] Founded 1018, enlarged 1219 and 1262, finished 1304 by Fra Guglielmo da Pisa, scholar of Niccola. See Milanesi, I. 299, note 1.

[15] There is no proof that Niccola built this campanile.

arches, which follow the spiral line. The roof of the staircase being supported on these arches, the ascent is of such sort that the spectator at the foot sees all who go up; those who are ascending see those remaining below; while he who stands in the mid-way can see both those above and those below.[16] This remarkable invention was afterwards applied, with many improvements of proportion and richer ornament, by Bramante, in Rome, to the Belvedere of Pope Julius II., and by Antonio di San Gallo, in Orvieto, for Pope Clement VII., as will be related in the proper place. But to return to Niccola: he was no less excellent in sculpture than in architecture; and on the façade of the church of San Martino, in Lucca, he executed a Deposition of Christ from the Cross, half-relief in marble, which is full of admirable figures, finished with extreme care, the marble being entirely perforated, and the whole completed in a manner which gave hope, to those who were previously pursuing this art with weary steps, that a master was now about to arise, from whose aid and example they might look for greater facilities to their future progress than had yet been enjoyed. This work[17] is under the portico, and above the side-door, on the left hand of him who enters the church. In the year 1240,[18] the plans for the church of San Jacopo di Pistoja were prepared by Niccola, who employed certain Tuscan artists to decorate the apse in mosaic.[19] This apse, admired in those days as a work of great expense and difficulty, awakens more compassion or ridicule than admiration in our own times,

[16] According to M. Müntz in *A travers la Toscane*, the famous leaning tower is not by Niccola but by an Italian, Bonnannus, and William of Innspriick. Some critics also add Giovanni Ennipontano, a German, and Thomas of Pisa.

[17] In the architrave below this work is an Adoration attributed to Giovanni Pisano. The sculptured date refers not to the Adoration, but to the building of the portico. Milanesi, I. 300, note 1. This work is praised by Crowe and Cavalcaselle above all the others of Niccola and Giovanni.

[18] In 1272.

[19] Tolomei gives good reasons for believing that only portions of the church belong to Niccola; in the demolitions of 1599 the mosaics disappeared.

In 1272 (not 1240) Niccola undertook to restore the altar of this church. See Milanesi, I. 300.

and the rather as the defects then prevailing were manifest not in Tuscany only, but through all Italy, where many buildings and other works, executed without design or method, because of the little knowledge to which men had then attained in the art of design, serve only to prove the poverty of their invention, and to show us what unmeasured riches were badly expended by the people of those times, for lack of masters capable of worthily executing the works confided to them.

In this state of things, Niccola perpetually increased his fame by the works he performed, both in sculpture and architecture, acquiring a better name than any of the sculptors or architects then working in Romagna; his right to which may be seen in Sant' Ippolito and San Giovanni of Faenza, in the cathedral of Ravenna, in San Francesco, in the houses of the Traversari, and in the church of Porto, as well as in Rimini, where the town-hall, the palaces of the Malatesta family, and other edifices, are all in a much ruder manner than the old buildings erected at the same period in Tuscany. And what is here said of Romagna, may be affirmed with equal truth respecting a part of Lombardy.[20] One needs only to examine the cathedral of Ferrara, and such other buildings as were erected by the Marquis Azzo, to be convinced of this truth, and to perceive how inferior these attempts are to the Santo[21] of Padua, built after the designs of Niccola,—or to the church of the Frari in Venice, both magnificent and deservedly celebrated works.[22] Many artists of Niccola's day, incited by a laudable ambition, devoted themselves to the study of sculpture with more zeal

[20] Most of these buildings mentioned by Vasari have been ruined or altered.

[21] The church of Saint Anthony of Padua is called "*Il Santo*." There is no documentary evidence to prove that Niccola built it.

[22] Though we have no documentary proof, Perkins, in his "Tuscan Sculptors," inclines to the belief that Niccola built the church of St. Anthony, claiming that Niccola Pisano being an eclectic was peculiarly susceptible to the new impressions, which were many at a time when architectural ideas were in a chaotic state. Niccola usually amalgamated several styles, so that the successful blending of them in the *Santo* appears to be a corroboration of the tradition that Niccola was the archi-

than they had previously done, more particularly in Milan, where many Lombards and Germans had assembled for the construction of the cathedral, but who were afterwards dispersed by the hostilities that arose between the Milanese and the Emperor Frederick, when these artists were distributed over all Italy, where much emulation arising among them, they produced some works of considerable merit, as well in sculpture as architecture. The same thing occurred in Florence, after the works of Arnolfo and Niccola had appeared; the latter, while the little church of the Misericordia [23] on the Piazza of San Giovanni was in progress of erection after his plans, was further occupied with a group in marble, representing the Virgin, between St. Dominick, and another saint, which may still be seen on the façade of the church.

It was in the time of Niccola that the Florentines began to demolish the numerous towers, built of old, in a most barbarous style, in all parts of the city, that the people might suffer less in the contests perpetually arising between the Guelfs and Ghibelines, or perhaps for the greater security of the state itself. But the tower called Guardamorto, appeared to them to present extreme difficulty in its demolition, the walls being of such thickness that they would not yield to the pickaxe, the height also being very great. This tower stood on the Piazza San Giovanni, and Niccola cut through one of its sides at the foot of the building and supported it meanwhile by wooden props, of a braccio and a half high; to these supports he then set fire, and when they were consumed, the tower fell of itself into almost total ruin.[24] This was considered so ingenious, and so useful a

tect of this church. The same author, however, points out that this very combination of styles weighs against his having been the architect of the church of the Frari, which is relatively uniform in character.

[23] The old Misericordia, now a part of the Bigallo, is meant. The Madonna here mentioned is by Filippo di Cristoforo (1413); the one inside the oratory is by Alberto Arnoldi. See Milanesi, I. 302, note 1.

[24] In 1248 the Ghibellines destroyed thirty-six Florentine towers and desiring to overwhelm the Baptistery, the headquarters of the Guelphs, they ordered Niccola to throw down *Guardamorto*, which stood very near it. "By special miracle of St. John," wrote Villani, "the tower fell straight across the

method, that it has since become in a manner customary; for when it is found needful to destroy an edifice, the work is readily done by these means. Niccola was present when the first foundation of the cathedral of Siena was laid, and drew the plan of the church of San Giovanni in the same city.[25] Having then returned to Florence, in the same year that the Guelfs recovered the city,[26] he there designed the church of the Holy Trinity, with the convent of the Nuns of Faenza, since destroyed to make way for the citadel.[27] He was then recalled to Naples, but unwilling to abandon his labours in Tuscany, he sent thither his disciple, Maglione, in his stead. Maglione was a sculptor as well as architect; he built the church of San Lorenzo of Naples, in the time of Conradin,—finished a part of the Episcopal Palace,—and erected several sepulchral monuments,—works, in all of which he closely imitated the manner of his master Niccola.

Niccola was meanwhile invited by the people of Volterra, in the year 1254,* when that city was subjugated by the Florentines, to enlarge their cathedral, which was very small; the form of this building was extremely irregular, but Niccola rectified that fault, and greatly increased the magnificence of the cathedral.[28] He then returned to Pisa, and constructed the marble pulpit of San Giovanni,[29] to which he gave the utmost diligence and attention, desiring to leave to his country a memorial of himself in this work, on which, among other subjects, he represented the Univer-

piazza." Niccola's part in the miracle is not chronicled, but can be surmised. The curious name of "*Guardamorto*," Death watch, came from the Florentine custom of laying the dead who were to be buried near the Baptistery, for a certain number of hours in a chamber of this tower.

* In 1257 according to Milanesi.

[25] The cathedral of Siena was founded before Niccola was born.

[26] In 1250.

[27] Niccola died in 1278 and the convent was not founded until 1281, but he may have built Santa Trinità at Florence. This church has just been elaborately restored in the ancient style.

[28] No testimony exists to support or disprove this statement.

[29] This pulpit was built in 1260. Symonds remarks that the Pisans passed a law for its preservation, and guardians were appointed for it as in the time of the Greeks the Zeus of Pheidias was given to the care of the *Phaidruntai*.

sal Judgment, composed of numerous figures, which, if not perfectly well designed, are at least executed with infinite care and patience, as may still be seen.[30] Then, as Niccola thought, with justice, that he had completed a meritorious work, he inscribed beneath it the following verses:

"Anno milleno bis centum bisque triceno
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Nicola Pisanus."
[Laudetur digne tam bene docta manus.][31]

The people of Siena, moved by the fame of this work, which was greatly admired, not by the Pisans only, but by all who beheld it, offered Niccola the construction of that pulpit in their cathedral from which the holy Gospel is wont to be sung.[32] On this, Niccola represented various passages from the life of Christ, redounding greatly to his honour, especially the figures, which, with great difficulty, he has well-nigh detached from the marble.[33] This was executed while Guglielmo Mariscotti was Praetor.[34] The designs for the church and convent of San Domenico, in Arezzo, were also made by Niccola for the Signori of Pietramala, by whom both were erected.[35] At the entreaty of the Bishop Ubertini,

[30] Acquainted with all architectural styles and troubled . . . by no scruples about mingling them in one and the same construction, he used Roman, Mediæval, and Gothic elements to enrich it; crowned his columns with classic capitals; rested them on the backs of lions, as in the church porches of the Middle Ages; filled his round arches with pointed details; and set up statuettes symbolic of the Christian virtues wherever he thought they would produce a harmonious whole.—C. C. Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 12.

[31] This line omitted by Vasari is required to make the inscription complete.—Foster's Notes.

[32] On the whole the pulpit of Siena is less harmonious than that of Pisa. This is partly owing to the richly ornamented Renaissance staircase, which conflicts in style with the older parts. Padre della Valle, in speaking of the Siena pulpit, says: "The first Sienese and Florentine sculptors issued from it as the Greeks from the Trojan horse."

[33] These sculptures were contracted for in 1266. Arnolfo, Lapo, and perhaps Giovanni aided Niccola. Ranieri d'Andrea da Perugia was Podestà in 1266.—Milanesi, I. 304, note 2.

[34] Mariscotti was *Praetor* in 1268.—See note 33.

[35] No documents remain to confirm this statement.

he restored the capitular church of Cortona, and founded the church of Santa Margherita for the friars of St. Francis, on the most elevated point of that city.[36]

By all these labours, the fame of Niccola was continually extended, and in the year 1267,* he was invited by Pope Clement IV. to Viterbo, where, with many others, he restored the church and convent of the Preaching Friars.[37] From Viterbo he proceeded to Naples to King Charles I., who, having routed and slain Conradin, on the plain of Tagliacozzo, had determined to erect a very rich church and abbey on the spot, wherein should be buried the great number of men killed in that battle, and where he had commanded that masses for their souls should be performed night and day, by many monks. And in respect of this building, King Charles was so well satisfied with the work of Niccola, that he paid the artist great honours, and rewarded him largely.[38] Returning from Naples into Tuscany, Niccola made some stay at Orvieto, where he assisted in the building of the church of Santa Maria. He there worked in company with certain Germans, and executed several figures in high relief, with their assistance, for the façade of that church. There were two historical scenes in particular, representing the Universal Judgment, Paradise, and Hell; and as he did his utmost to give beauty to the souls of the blessed who were restored to their bodies in Paradise, so, in the figures of the devils, employed in tormenting the souls of the condemned in Hell, he produced the strangest forms that can be conceived. In this work he surpassed not only the Germans with whom he was associated, but even himself, to his great glory; and as there were large

* In the Milanesi edition this date is 1257.

[36] The churches at Arezzo and Cortona designed or restored by Niccola have been modernized.

[37] According to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle there are no authentic records of Niccola's works at Viterbo and Naples. Perkins is disposed to admit that he worked there. See his note on Viterbo and Tagliacozzo, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 387.

[38] Only ruins remain. See note 37.

numbers of figures, and he had given proof of extraordinary patience in this production, it has been praised even to our own times by those whose judgment in sculpture does not extend beyond these circumstances.[39]

Among other children, Niccola had a son called Giovanni, who, being constantly with his father, attained early proficiency under his care, both in sculpture and architecture, so that in a few years he not only became equal to his instructor, but in some respects surpassed him; wherefore, becoming old, Niccola retired to Pisa, leaving the management of all their labours to his son. Pope Urban IV. expired about this time in Perugia, and Giovanni was summoned to that city, to construct the sepulchral monument of that pontiff. This work, executed in marble, was demolished, together with the tomb of Pope Martin IV., when the people of Perugia enlarged their cathedral, so that there remain now but a few relics, scattered over different parts of the church. About the same time,[40] the Perugians, profiting by the skill and industry of a Friar of the Silvestrini, had conducted an abundant water-course into their city, by means of leaden pipes, from the hill of Pacciano, two miles distant; they now therefore confided the erection of the fountain to Giovanni Pisano,[41] with all its ornaments,

[39] Giovanni Pisano *may* have worked at these reliefs, but Niccola was no longer living at the time of their execution.

[40] In 1274.

[41] *Niccola* went to Perugia to design a fountain for the piazza, planned it, then returning to Pisa made there the statuettes which he had promised for the upper basin and sent them to Perugia to his son Giovanni, who remained there to superintend the work and sculpture the bas-reliefs about the lower basin. Rosso executed the bronzes of the third and upper basin in 1277, and the whole fountain was finished in the papacy of Nicholas III., 1277–1280.—See M. Müntz and also C. C. Perkins and also an important article by M. Marcel Reymond, *Archivio Storico dell Arte*, VII., 484–488, *L'Angelo che suona, del Bargello, e la Fontana di Perugia*. M. Reymond considers this fountain the most important example of the evolution effected in sculpture from the time of the pulpits of Niccola, *circa* 1260, to that of the pulpits of Giovanni, *circa* 1310. He finds that in the tomb of la Braye at Orvieto, by Arnolfo, in the *Fuor civitas* pulpit of Pistoja by Fra Guglielmo, above all in the Perugian fountain, the majesty and loftiness of Niccola become human-

whether in marble or bronze. Giovanni therefore commenced the work, and constructed a range with three basins, placed one above the other; the first is of marble, raised on twelve steps, each having twelve sides;[42] the second, also of marble, reposes on columns, rising from the centre of the first; and the third, which is of bronze, is supported on three figures, and has griffins, also of bronze, in the midst of it, which pour the water forth on all sides. Then, as Giovanni considered himself to have worked successfully in this fountain, he inscribed his name upon it.[43] About the year 1560, as the arches and conduits of the aqueduct, which had cost seventy thousand gold ducats, had become much injured,—nay, were in a great part ruined,—Vincenzio Danti, a sculptor and architect of Perugia, did himself no small credit by most ingeniously reconducting the water to the said fountain in its original course, yet without rebuilding the arches, which would have been an excessively costly work.[44]

This undertaking being completed, Giovanni resolved to leave Perugia and return to Pisa, being desirous of seeing his father, now become old, and also indisposed; but, passing through Florence, he was compelled to delay some time there for the purpose of assisting, with other architects, at the mills on the river Arno, which were then in course of construction, at San Gregorio, near the Piazza de' Mozzi. At length, having received intelligence of his father's death,[45] he

ized and tender, before passing onward to the poignancy and even violence of Giovanni Pisano's later style. M. Reymond considers the statuettes of the upper basin as a product of Niccola's last manner, and sees in them also evidence of Giovanni's assistance, while he accredits the *bas-reliefs* of the lower basin to Giovanni and Arnolfo di Lapo. He gives a full list of the subjects of both reliefs and statuettes, and he considers this fountain the point of departure of Andrea Pisano and the Florentine school of sculpture.

[42] Twenty-five sides rather.

[43] The fountain is more interesting in detail than as a whole; the later portions towards the top being somewhat unimportant in relation to the massiveness of the general effect.

[44] Schorn notes a restoration of these ornaments.

[45] In 1277.

departed for Pisa, where, in consideration of his talents, he was received with great honour by all the city, every one rejoicing that, although Niccola had passed away, yet Giovanni remained to them, the heir to his virtues, as well as to his abilities. Nor were the Pisans disappointed in their expectations when the occasion for putting them to the proof presented itself; for, resolving to make certain changes in the small, but richly-adorned church of Santa Maria della Spina, the charge of these was entrusted to Giovanni, who, with the aid of his disciples, brought the decorations of that oratory to the perfection which we still see.[46] This work, so far as we can judge of it, must have been considered wonderful in those times, and the rather as, in one of the figures, Giovanni had produced the portrait of his father, in the best manner that he could accomplish.[47]

The people of Pisa, seeing the success of Giovanni in this work, and having long thought—nay, even spoken—of making a general burying-ground for the noble, as well as the plebeian classes of their city, that too many might not be laid in the cathedral, or from some other cause, resolved to confide to Giovanni the construction of the Campo Santo,[48] which is situate on the piazza of the Duomo, towards the walls; this he completed from good plans and with great judgment, giving it that extent, and enriching it with those ornaments, which we now see; and as the cost of this work was not restricted, he caused the roof to be covered

[46] The church was not begun until 1323, or towards the end of Giovanni's life. See Schultz, *Denkmäler der kunst in Unter Italien*, VII. p. 5, note 3.

[47] In the life of Andrea Pisano, Vasari states that in the sculptures of the church of La Spina, Nino made a portrait of his father.

[48] The Campo Santo was built 1278-83. The sacred earth brought from Jerusalem by the Pisans in fifty galleys made this building impressive among all burial-places to the mediæval imagination. The simplicity of the lines of the building, its beamed roof, long perspective, and lovely windows of Giovanni Pisano, through which the sunlight streams and the green turf is seen, made it very beautiful, and the vastest series of frescoes in Italy made it a place of art pilgrimage. Though it is no such Pantheon of the great as Santa Croce or Westminster, it is one of the strangest and most famous mausoleums in the world.

with lead. The following inscription, graven on marble, was placed on the principal door:

A. D. MCCLXXVIII,* tempore Domini Friderigi archiepiscopi Pisani, et Domini Tarlati potestatis, operario Orlando Sardella, Johanne Magistro ædificante.

This undertaking being completed, Giovanni went, in the same year 1283,[49] to Naples, where he built the Castel Nuovo for Charles I.[50] To give space for this erection, and for the necessary defences, he was compelled to demolish several houses, and particularly a convent of the friars of St. Francis, which was afterwards reconstructed on a larger scale, and with increased magnificence, near the castle, receiving the name of Santa Maria "della Nuova."[51] When these buildings had been commenced, and had made a certain degree of progress, Giovanni left Naples to return into Tuscany; but, having reached Siena,[52] he was not suffered to go farther, being called on to give a plan for the façade of the cathedral[53] of that city, which was then constructed, after that model, with extreme splendour and magnificence.[54] In the year 1286, the people of Arezzo were building their cathedral, from the designs of Margaritone, an architect of that city, when Giovanni was summoned thither from Siena, by Guglielmino, Bishop of Arezzo, for whom he executed the table of the

* This date should read MCCLXXXVIII.

[49] In 1288; Perkins considers this journey doubtful.

[50] Milanesi believes that the *interior* of the Castel Nuovo is meant.

[51] This church of S. M. Nuova is attributed to Giovanni Pisano.

[52] In 1289.

[53] Not one of Niccola's purely *architectural* works is authenticated by document, though we constantly hear of him as a consulting architect; but Giovanni Pisano is identified with the Campo Santo of Pisa, the completion of the cathedral of Prato, and, according to M. Müntz, *À travers la Toscane*, with the *façade* of the cathedral of Siena.

[54] Giovanni could not have been present at the foundation of the Sienese cathedral, though he might perhaps have designed the baptistery. Giovanni may have worked on the façade of the Duomo of Siena at different dates; his name appears on the registers in 1284–90–95–99. See Milanesi, quoted by Perkins in Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 30.

high altar, in marble.[55] In the same church, Giovanni constructed the chapel of the Ubertini, a most illustrious family, still possessing several lordships, but formerly the masters of many more. This he likewise enriched with numerous decorations in marble; but these have been covered over by various ornaments in stone, erected on that site, by Giorgio Vasari, in the year 1535, for the support of an organ, of extraordinary beauty and excellence, which has been placed in that chapel.

Giovanni Pisano also gave the designs for the church of Santa Maria de' Servi, which has been destroyed, with many palaces belonging to the noblest families of the city, for the causes before mentioned. And here I will not omit to note that Giovanni employed the services of certain Germans for the altar above described, who assisted him, more in the hope of improvement than for gain; these artists became so expert under his instructions, that, having departed to Rome on the completion of the work, they were employed in many of the sculptures of St. Peter's by Boniface VIII., as well as in architecture, when that pontiff was building Civita Castellana. They were, besides, despatched by the same pope to Santa Maria d'Orvieto, where they executed many figures, in marble, for the façade of that church, which were tolerably well done for those times. But among those who assisted Giovanni Pisano in the works of the cathedral of Arezzo, Agostino and Agnolo, sculptors and architects of Siena, were the most distinguished, and far surpassed all others. We now return to Giovanni, who repaired to Florence on leaving Orvieto, partly to view the building then constructing by Arnolfo (Santa Maria del Fiore), but also to visit Giotto, of whom he had heard great things related while on his travels. But he had scarcely arrived in Florence, before he was appointed, by the Intendants of the fabric, to execute the Madonna, which

[55] The altar of San Donato is not by G. Pisano, but by Giov. di Francesco d' Arezzo and Betto di Francesco da Firenze. See Milanesi, I. 311. A passage describing this altar is here omitted.

stands between two angels, over that door of the church which leads into the canonical palace; a work which was then greatly commended.[56] He afterwards erected the small baptismal font of San Giovanni, adorning it with passages from the life of that saint, in mezzo-rilievo.[57] Then, proceeding to Bologna, he directed the construction of the principal chapel in the church of San Domenico, where he was also commissioned, by Teodorico Borgognoni, of Lucca, the Bishop, a friar of the Dominican order, to execute an altar in marble; and in the year 1298 he completed the marble table in which are seen the Virgin with eight other figures, all of very tolerable workmanship.[58]

In the year 1300,[59] Niccola da Prato, cardinal legate, being despatched by the pope to Florence, in the hope of appeasing the dissensions of the Florentines, employed Giovanni to build a convent for nuns in Prato,[60] which he caused to be called the Convent of San Niccola, after his own name; in the same district he restored the convent of San Domenico,[61] with another of the same name in Pistoja, and on both these buildings the arms of the aforesaid cardinal may still be found. Then the people of Pistoja, holding the name of Niccola, the father of Giovanni, in high respect, for the many excellent works that he had produced in their city, caused Giovanni to construct a marble pulpit for their church of Sant' Andrea, similar to that which Niccola had executed for the cathedral of Siena, and in which he was to compete with one erected shortly before by a German, in the church of St. John the Evangelist, which had been highly praised.[62] This work Giovan-

[56] This work is still *in situ*.

[57] The present font bears the date of 1370, at which time Giovanni had been dead forty-two, and Andrea twenty years.

[58] This work is lost. [59] More probably in 1303. [60] In 1317-20.

[61] As the convent remained unfinished until 1322 it could hardly have been restored.

[62] This latter pulpit of San Giovanni *Fuor civitas* is now generally accredited not to a German, but to Fra Guglielmo of Pisa, 1270.

The pulpit of Sant' Andrea is one of Giovanni Pisano's most famous works;

ni completed in four years, representing passages from the life of Jesus Christ, in five compartments, on five of its sides, with a Universal Judgment on the sixth, giving his utmost care to the execution, in the hope of equalling, or perhaps of surpassing, that of Orvieto, then so much lauded. And as it appeared to him that he had produced a great and beautiful work, which was true, the age considered, he inscribed the following verses around the pulpit, above the columns supporting it, on the architrave :—

> "Hoc opus sculpsit Joannes, qui res non egit inanes
> Nicolai* natus . . . meliora beatus.
> Quem genuit Pisa, doctum super omnia visa."

About the same time,[63] and in the same city, Giovanni constructed the holy water font for the church of St. John the Baptist. This is in marble, supported by three figures—Temperance, Prudence, and Justice—and the work being then considered very beautiful, was placed in the centre of the church as something remarkable. Moreover, before he departed from Pistoja, Giovanni gave the plans for the campanile of St. Jacopo, the principal church of that city, although the church itself had not then been commenced. This tower, which stands on the Piazza di San Jacopo, and beside the church, bears the date 1301.[64]

Pope Benedict IX.[65] dying soon after this in Perugia, Giovanni Pisano was invited to that city, where he constructed a marble tomb for the lately departed pontiff, in the old church of San Domenico of the Preaching Friars. The

for illustrations and long description see M. Henri Belle, *Les Petites villes et le grand art en Toscane*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, XXXVIII. *liv.* 980, pp. 245–246. Pistoja is *par excellence* the city of pulpits, and those of the churches of Groppolo, San Bartolommeo, San Giovanni *Fuor civitas*, and Sant' Andrea mark four distinct and successive steps in advance.

* In the second line of this inscription, which was carelessly copied by Vasari and bears the date 1300; the Milanesi edition gives *Nicoli* for Nicolai.

[63] In 1300.

[64] Tolomei says that this date is not 1301 but 1200, the date of the beginning of the building. Giovanni probably restored and embellished the latter.

[65] Benedict XI., who died in 1304. The tomb was executed in 1305–1306.

figure of Pope Benedict, taken from nature, and in his pontifical habits, is extended on the sarcophagus, between two angels, which support a canopy; the Virgin stands above, with a saint on each side of her; many other ornaments also, in marble, are cut around the monument. In the new church of the preaching Friars, Giovanni likewise erected a tomb, that of Messer Niccolo Guidalotti, bishop of Recanati, a native of Perugia, who was founder of the new college, called the Sapienza, in that city.[66] In this same new church, which had been founded by others, it may be further remarked, that Giovanni directed the works of the central nave, and this part of the building was much more securely built than the remainder of the church, which has sunk on one side from the defects of its foundations, and now, from having been so insecurely based, is in danger of ruin. And, of a truth, whoever undertakes a building, or other work of importance, should seek advice from the best informed, and not from those who know but little, lest, when all is done, he should have to repent, with shame and loss, of having been ill directed where most he needed counsel.

Having completed his labours in Perugia, Giovanni resolved to proceed to Rome,[67] that he might profit, as his father had done, by the study of the few antiquities then to be seen there; but being prevented by good reasons, he refrained from carrying this resolution into effect, and the rather as he heard that the Papal Court had just gone to Avignon. He returned, therefore, to Pisa, where Nello di Giovanni Falconi, master of the Duomo, commissioned him to build the principal pulpit of the cathedral,—that fixed to the choir, namely, on the right hand of the spectator as he approaches the high altar.[68] Having commenced this work,

[66] According to Mariotti's *Lettere Perugine*, quoted by Milanesi, this bishop, named Benedetto, postdated Giovanni by about a century.

[67] This may rather refer to the incidental studies of Niccola in later life; his youth was probably passed in Tuscany.

[68] This pulpit was finished by Giovanni in 1311, and was perhaps his most important work. Injured by the great fire of 1595 (see curious description

and the many figures, in full relief, three braccia high, which were to serve for its decoration, he brought it, by slow degrees, to the form it now bears. This pulpit is based partly upon the above-mentioned figures, partly on columns supported by lions; on the sides are represented certain passages from the life of Jesus. It is truly deplorable that so much care, industry, and cost, were not accompanied by some merit of design; that it should fall so far short of perfection as to have neither invention, nor grace, nor any approach to good style, such as would be assured, in our times, to works of much less expense and labour. It awakened no little admiration, nevertheless, in the men of those times, accustomed to see only the rudest attempts. This work was finished in the year 1320,[68] as appears from

from a *codex* quoted in *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, V. 66-94) the pulpit was taken to pieces, certain fragments being placed in the Campo Santo, the six *bas-reliefs* remaining in the cathedral, the lions and other portions being built into the modernised pulpit. It is intended that the fragments shall all be gathered together into a careful reconstruction of Giovanni's pulpit to occupy its original place.

Late critics are of the opinion that the general plan of this important work of Giovanni has been misunderstood, and that fragments have been attributed to it which never belonged to it. Signor Igino Benvenuto Supino, the latest and most enthusiastic student of Giovanni, asserts that only the *bas-reliefs*, the two lions, and the figures of the central support representing the Liberal Arts, are by Giovanni.

He believes the other figures to be greatly inferior, and accredits them—the four Evangelists, at least—to Tino da Camaino. He shows that the tomb of the Emperor Henry VII. was partially dismantled in 1494, and removed from its place, and claims that the inferior figures attributed to Giovanni originally formed part of this tomb. Sig. Supino affirms also that the figures over the door of the Campo Santo are not by Giovanni, but that the Virgin above the Baptistery door is one of his finest works. In the various proposed reconstructions (on paper) of the Pisano pulpit, Sig. Supino finds especial fault with the arrangement of the staircase, declaring that it can in nowise resemble the original. See pages 65-68, *Arch. Stor.*, Vol. I., new series. 1895.

[68] An inscription bears the date 1511.

There is in the sacristy of the Duomo of Pisa an ivory Madonna by Giovanni Pisano. Another Madonna, once on a pinnacle of the church of the Spina and attributed to Giovanni Pisano, by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, has been taken to the Campo Santo and is now attributed to Andrea Pisano. See Sig. Igino Benvenuto Supino, *Arch. Stor.* VI., 1893, p. 326.

certain verses engraved around the said pulpit, and which proceed thus :—

"Laudo Deum verum, per quem sunt optima rerum
Qui dedit has puras homini formare figuras;
Hoc opus his annis Domini sculpsere Johannis
Arte manus sola* quondam natique Nicole
Cursis undenis tercentum milleque plenis."

There are, besides, thirteen other lines which I do not give here, that the reader may be the less wearied, and likewise because these suffice to show, not only that this pulpit is from the hand of Giovanni, but also that the men of those times were uniform in their shortcomings. A Virgin in marble, placed over the principal door of the Duomo, between the figures of St. John the Baptist and another saint, is also by Giovanni Pisano, and the figure kneeling at the feet of the Virgin is said to represent Pietro Gambacorti, master of the works. However this may be, on the pedestal of the Virgin are engraved the following words:—

"Sub Petri cura hæc pia fuit sculpta figura
Nicoli nato sculptore Johanne vocato."

In like manner, over the side door, opposite to the campanile, stands a Virgin in marble, from the hand of Giovanni; on one side of her there is a woman kneeling, with two children. This group represents Pisa.[70] On the other side of the Madonna is the Emperor Henry. On the pedestal of the Virgin are the words—"Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum"; and near them the following verses:—

"Nobilis arte manus sculpsit Johannes Pisanus.
Sculpsit sub Burgundio Tadi Benigno."

* *Sole* in the Milanesi edition.

[70] The first of these groups is over the door of the Baptistery, not over that of the Duomo. The Pietro Gambacorti mentioned above was betrayed and killed in 1392, and therefore in the time of Giovanni Pisano was not yet born or was a child. The inscription "*Sub Petri cura*," etc., refers to another Pietro who was warden of the Baptistery in 1304 and in 1315.

The second group is now on the Campo Santo.

See Sig. Supino's article on Giovanni Pisano, *Arch. Stor.*, Jan.-April, 1895.

Around the pedestal of the group representing Pisa,

"Virginis ancilla sum Pisa quieta sub illa."

And on that of the Emperor,

"Imperat. Henricus qui Christo fertur amicus."

In the old parochial church of Prato, under the altar of the principal chapel, the girdle of the Virgin had been preserved during a long series of years. This relic had been brought to his native place by Michele da Prato, when he returned from the Holy Land in the year 1141, and by him it was consigned to the care of Uberto, dean of the Chapter, who deposited it in the above-named sanctuary, where it has ever been held in high veneration. But in the year 1312, a native of Prato,—a man of very bad character, a sort of Ser Ciappelletto,[71] so to speak,—laid a plan for the abstraction of the holy girdle. This being discovered, the criminal suffered death for his sacrilege, at the hands of justice. But the people of Prato, alarmed for the safety of the girdle, resolved to build a strong and suitable receptacle for its better security. They accordingly summoned Giovanni, who was then getting old, and, by his counsels, they built a chapel in the principal church, wherein they deposited the girdle. They also greatly enlarged the church, from the designs of the same artist, covering the outside with black and white marble, as they did also with the campanile, which may be still seen.[72] At length, having now become very old, Giovanni Pisano expired in the year 1320,[73] after having produced many works,

[71] See the story of Ser Ciappelletto in Boccaccio's Decameron, *Gior.* I., *Novella* i.

[72] The enlargement of the cathedral was commenced 1317. The Campanile left unfinished by Giovanni was completed *circa* 1340, by two Sienese, Niccolo di Cecco del Mercia and Sano, his pupil. They also finished the pulpit of the *Cintola* Chapel, 1354–1359. Milanesi, I. 318, note 1.

[73] Milanesi cannot give the exact year of Giovanni's death. It must postdate 1328, if he designed the Scrovegni monument in the Arena chapel of Padua, but Perkins doubts his authorship in this tomb, thus re-establishing the possibility that he died in 1320.

both in sculpture and architecture, over and above those here enumerated. And, of a truth, we owe much gratitude both to himself and his father Niccola, seeing that, in times wholly destitute of any good ideas in design, and from the midst of profound darkness, they cast no small light on all pertaining to art; for that age, therefore, they were truly excellent. Giovanni was honorably interred in the Campo Santo, and in the same tomb with his father. He left many scholars who gained considerable repute after his death; but Lino,[74] a sculptor and architect of Siena, was more particularly distinguished among them. He built the chapel wherein are deposited the remains of San Ranieri, in the Duomo of Pisa, and which is richly decorated in marble. Lino also erected the baptismal font of the same cathedral, inscribing his name among its ornaments.

Nor is it any cause of wonder that Niccola and Giovanni should have executed so large a number of works; for, beside that both lived to a good old age, they were, at that time, the first masters in Europe,[75] and there were few under-

[74] Milanesi suspects that Vasari means by Lino, one Tino da Camaino, author of the tomb of the Emperor Henry II. now in the Pisan Campo Santo, of Bishop Orso in the Florentine Duomo, and of Tedice Aliotti in S. M. Novella. See also M. Marcel Reymond, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*.

[75] Niccola Pisano found art at a very low ebb. His study of nature corrected by the ideal of the antique gave the death-blow to Byzantinism and laid the foundation for a great school of sculptors and architects. From him Symonds dates the birth of the First Renaissance, saying that among the Greeks he would have been honoured with a special *cultus* as the Hero Eponym of Art. Perkins considers that he bears the same relation to Italian art as Dante to Italian literature, and Lord Lindsay does not overestimate the importance of Niccola, when he claims that the influence of his art was felt in the remote forests of Germany. Niccola not only showed men where to study but how to study.

In his impartial and ready eclecticism made fruitful by his wonderful power of assimilation, Niccola was a Raphael of early sculpture, turning Madonna into an Ariadne when an antique relief was near enough to afford him a model and remaining a Tuscan-Gothic sculptor in Bologna, where no Græco-Roman work met his eye. His greatest fault is overcrowding his compositions, and using figures of different sizes in the same panels. As an artist he heads the long sequence of the Renaissance of which his Pisan Pulpit is the initial monument.

Giovanni Pisano developed his style principally after his father's death.

takings of importance in which they did not take part, as may be proved from numerous inscriptions in addition to those above cited.

Like Niccola, he often overcrowded his compositions, and introduced figures of different and discordant proportions. But he is a great dramatic artist, and though the dignity of Niccola is replaced by exaggerated movements, the latter are interesting and full of invention. In his masterpiece, the pulpit of Saint Andrea at Pistoja, the poignant dramatic interest is pushed almost to grotesqueness. To quote Dr. Bode, Giovanni "is Giotto's true master, and in the Gothic plastic art of Italy, he holds a place which corresponds to that of Donatello in the *Quattrocento*, of Michelangelo in the *Cinquecento* and *Seicento*."

The scholars of Niccola Pisano were his son Giovanni, Fra Guglielmo Agnelli, Lapo, Donato di Recevuto, and Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti. The principal pupil of Giovanni Pisano was Andrea Pisano.

GIOTTO, FLORENTINE PAINTER, SCULPTOR, AND ARCHITECT.

[*Born* 1266; *died* 1336 (1337 common style).]

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THE gratitude which the masters in painting owe to Nature—who is ever the truest model to him who, possessing the power to select the brightest parts from her best and loveliest features, employs himself unweariedly in the reproduction of these beauties—this gratitude, I say, is due, in my judgment, to the Florentine painter. Giotto, seeing that he alone—although born amidst incapable artists, and at a time when all good methods in art had long been entombed beneath the ruins of war—yet, by the favour of Heaven, he, I say, alone succeeded in resuscitating art, and restoring her to a path that may be called the true one. And it was in truth a great marvel, that from so rude and inapt an age, Giotto should have had strength to elicit so much, that the art of design, of which the men of those days had little, if any, knowledge, was, by his means, effectually recalled into life. The birth of this great man took

Giotto. Virgin and Child with Angels.

place in the hamlet of Vespignano, fourteen miles from the city of Florence, in the year 1276.[1] His father's name was Bondone, a simple husbandman,[2] who reared the child, to whom he had given the name of Giotto, with such decency as his condition permitted. The boy was early remarked for extreme vivacity in all his childish proceedings, and for extraordinary promptitude of intelligence; so that he became endeared, not only to his father, but to all who knew him in the village and around it. When he was about ten years old, Bondone gave him a few sheep to watch, and with these he wandered about the vicinity—now here and now there. But, induced by Nature herself to the arts of design, he was perpetually drawing on the stones, the earth, or the sand, some natural object that came before him, or some fantasy that presented itself to his thoughts. It chanced one day that the affairs of Cimabue took him from Florence to Vespignano, when he perceived the young Giotto, who, while his sheep fed around him, was occupied in drawing one of them from the life,[3] with a stone slightly pointed, upon a smooth clean piece of rock,—and that without any teaching whatever, but such as Nature herself had imparted. Halting in astonishment, Cimabue inquired of the boy if he would accompany him to his home, and the child replied, he

[1] More probably in 1266, at Colle, Commune of Vespignano. He is known as Giotto di Bondone, Giotto being perhaps a contraction of Angiolotto or Ambrogiotto, which latter in turn is the diminutive of Ambrogio or Ambruogio (literally "little Ambrose").

[2] Layard cites a document in the Florentine archives from which Giotto's father appears to have been a blacksmith. See Layard's Kugler, I., 86.

[3] This story is mentioned by Leonardo da Vinci. See Dr. J. P. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, I., 332. Milanesi states that Vasari took it from the "*Commentario*" of Ghiberti and considers it a fable. An anonymous commentary on the Divine Comedy, written at the end of the fourteenth century, published in Bologna, 1866–1874, contradicts Vasari's anecdote. According to the anonymous author, Giotto had been apprenticed to a wool merchant; instead of going to his own work he stopped every day at the shop of Cimabue, where he spent all his time watching the painters. When his father asked the wool merchant how Giotto was progressing, the latter replied that he had not seen him for a long time. Finally, Bondone found the boy with the painters "towards whom his nature drew him," and, after taking counsel with Cimabue, he sent Giotto to study with that master.

would go willingly, if his father were content to permit it. Cimabue therefore requesting the consent of Bondone, the latter granted it readily, and suffered the artist to conduct his son to Florence, where, in a short time, instructed by Cimabue and aided by Nature, the boy not only equalled his master in his own manner, but became so good an imitator of Nature, that he totally banished the rude Greek manner,—restoring art to the better path adhered to in modern times, and introducing the custom of accurately drawing living persons from nature, which had not been used for more than two hundred years. Or, if some had attempted it, as said above, it was not by any means with the success of Giotto. Among the portraits by this artist, and which still remain, is one of his contemporary and intimate friend, Dante Alighieri, who was no less famous as a poet than Giotto as a painter, and whom Messer Giovanni Boccaccio has lauded so highly in the introduction to his story of Messer Forese da Rabatta, and of Giotto, the painter, himself. This portrait is in the chapel of the palace of the Podestà in Florence ;[4] and in the same chapel are

[4] This fresco, painted in 1302 in allusion to the peace of 1301, was whitewashed when the chapel of the *Podestà* was taken for prison offices. It was not only hidden but was nearly forgotten until Moreni, a Florentine antiquary, made reference to it in the early part of the present century. (See Mr. Charles Eliot Norton's work on the portraits of Dante.) An American, Mr. Wylde, Signor Bazzi, and two Englishmen, Mr. Rich and the artist Seymour Kirkup, resolved in 1840 to search for the portrait, agreeing to pay all the expenses, whether the researches were successful or not. The first portion uncovered brought to light the portrait of Dante, which was immediately and barbarously restored by Marini. A hole had been knocked in the eye of Dante, and Mr. Kirkup says: "I saw the Minister of Public Works directing Marini how to paint a new eye, and they made it between them, too small and too near the nose. . . . Not contented with that they painted the rest of the face to match the new eye. The figure was dressed in the three colors worn by Beatrice,

Sovra candido vel cinta d'oliva,
Donna m'apparve sotto verde manto,
Vestita di color di Fiamma viva.
—*Canto* XXX.

These colors being too radical for the time, 1840, all danger was avoided by changing the green to chocolate color." Although the colors were the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity, they belonged to the Democratic party and to Free-

the portraits of Ser Brunetto Latini, master of Dante, and of Messer Corso Donati, an illustrious citizen of that day.[5]

The first pictures of Giotto were painted for the chapel of the High Altar, in the Abbey of Florence, where he executed many works considered extremely fine. Among these, an Annunciation is particularly admired; the expression of fear and astonishment in the countenance of the Virgin, when receiving the salutation of Gabriel, is vividly depicted; she appears to suffer the extremity of terror, and seems almost ready to take flight. The altar-piece of that chapel is also by Giotto; but this has been, and continues to be, preserved, rather from the respect felt for the work of so distinguished a man, than from any other motive.[6] There are four chapels in Santa Croce also painted by Giotto:[7] three between the Sacristy and the principal chapel, and one on the opposite side of the church. In the first of the three, which belongs to Messer Ridolfi de' Bardi, and wherein are the bell-ropes, is the life of St. Francis. In this picture are several figures of monks lamenting the death of the saint: the expression of weeping is very natural.[8] In the second chapel, which belongs to the family of

masonry as well, so this extraordinary transformation—for we cannot call it restoration—took place. Milanesi, in a strong and elaborately considered argument, denies that Giotto painted these frescoes, and consequently the portrait. He quotes Villani, Manetti, Ghiberti, and others, carefully examining their statements. The balance of evidence seems to be in his favor, and to prove that the portrait of Dante painted by Giotto was on the altar-piece (now lost) of the chapel and not upon the wall. See also Pastoris e Milanesi *Sul ritratto di Dante Alighieri che si vuole dipinto nella capella del Podestà di Firenze*, 1865.

[5] They are directly in line with the portrait of Dante.

[6] These works are lost. Masselli suggests that the Annunciation in the Academy brought from the Badia may be a repetition of the Annunciation of Giotto.

[7] The frescoes in the Peruzzi and Bardi chapels have been restored by removal of the whitewash. Giotto's frescoes in the Spinelli chapel were covered with more recent paintings, and thus irretrievably lost. Those of the Giugni, now Riccardi, chapel were also destroyed. According to Villani, the first stone of Santa Croce was laid May 3, 1294, so that Giotto's works must be attributed to a period subsequent to his return from Rome.

[8] The whitewash was removed in 1853. On the ceiling are frescoes of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience.

Peruzzi, are two passages from the life of St. John the Baptist, to whom the chapel is dedicated, wherein the dancing of Herodias,[9] and the promptitude with which certain servants are performing the service of the table, are depicted with extreme vivacity. Two other paintings in the same chapel, also exceedingly fine, are events from the life of St. John the Evangelist,—that wherein he restores Drusiana to life, and his own ascension into Heaven. The third chapel belongs to the Giugni family: it is dedicated to the Apostles; and Giotto has painted in it various scenes from the martyrdom of many of them. In the fourth chapel, which is on the other side of the church to the north, belonging to the families of Tosinghi and Spinelli, and dedicated to the Assumption of our Lady, he has depicted the following passages from the life of the Virgin: her birth, her marriage, her annunciation, the adoration of the magi, and the presentation of Christ in the Temple. This last is a most beautiful thing; for not only is the warmest expression of love to the child to be perceived on the face of the old man Şimeon, but the act of the infant, who, being afraid of him, stretches its arms timidly and turns towards its mother, is depicted in a manner inexpressibly touching and exquisite. The Apostles and Angels, with torches in their hands, who surround the death-bed of the Virgin, in a succeeding picture, are also admirably well done. In the same church, and in the chapel of the Baroncelli family, is a picture in distemper, by the hand of Giotto: it represents the coronation of the Virgin, with a great number of small figures, and a choir of saints and angels, very carefully finished. On this work, the name of the master and the date are written in letters of gold.[10] Artists who reflect on the period at which Giotto, without any light to guide him towards better methods, could make so happy a commencement, whether as re-

[9] Vasari here, as elsewhere, confounds Herodias and Herodias' daughter, Salome. This fresco was uncovered in 1841. It is badly damaged.

[10] The name (not the date) is inscribed. Rosini, in his chronology, gives the dates of frescoes and picture as 1299–1303. Milanesi considers 1334 more probable as the date.

spects design or colouring, will be compelled to regard him with great respect and admiration. There are, moreover, in the same church of Santa Croce, and above the marble tomb of Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo, a Crucifix, a figure of the Virgin, a St. John and the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, all by the hand of Giotto; and on the other side of the church, exactly opposite to the latter, and above the burial-place of Leonardo Aretino, is an Annunciation, near the high altar, which has been restored with very little judgment, by the hand of some modern painter: a great discredit to those who had the custody of these works.[11] In the refectory is a Tree of the Cross,[12] with scenes from the life of St. Louis, and a Last Supper,[13] by the same master. On the presses or wardrobes of the sacristy, also, are passages from the life of Christ and that of St. Francis.[14] Giotto likewise painted in the church of the Carmine, depicting the life of St. John the Baptist,[15] for the chapel of that Saint, in a series of pictures; and in the Guelphic Palace of Florence there is a painting of the Christian Faith, admirably executed in fresco, wherein he has placed the portrait of Clement IV., who founded the society, conferring on it his own arms, which it has borne ever since.[16] After these works were finished, Giotto departed from Florence, and went to Assisi, to complete the paintings commenced by Cimabue. Passing through Arezzo, he painted one of the chapels of the capitular church, that of St. Francis, which is above the baptistery; and on a round column, which stands beside a very beautiful antique Corinthian capital, are portraits of St. Francis and

[11] These works have been whitewashed.

[12] The Tree of the Cross and other frescoes still exist in the refectory, but they are not by Giotto and are of later date.

[13] The Last Supper is ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi, the Crucifixion to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

[14] These little panels are by a pupil of Giotto; there are twenty-two of them in the Academy at Florence and two in Berlin. Two others of a different size [Morelli says three] are in Munich.

[15] They were destroyed by fire in 1771; certain fragments of frescoes taken from the church and once believed to be by Giotto are now proved to post-date his time. See Milanesi.

[16] This fresco has perished.

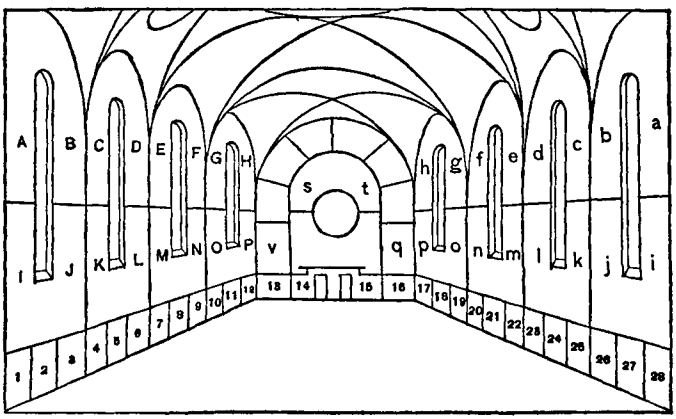
St. Dominick, by his hand, both taken from nature.[17] In the cathedral without Arezzo, he further executed the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in one of the larger chapels; of which the composition is fine.[18] Having finished these things, he proceeded to Assisi, a city of Umbria, being invited thither by Fra Giovanni of Muro[19] in the March, who was then general of the fraternity of St. Francis. Here, in the upper church,[20] and under the corridor which traverses

[17] These frescoes, attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Jacopo da Casentino, have been transferred to a column of the Presbytery, and are the only paintings remaining in the *Pieve*. By "taken from nature," Vasari means painted from a living model, Dominick and Francis having died before Giotto's time.

[18] Destroyed in 1561.

[19] If Giotto was called to Assisi by Fra Giovanni di Muro, it could not have been before 1296, in which year the latter was elected general of the order. See Waddingo (*sic*), quoted by Milanesi, I., 377, note 3.

[20] In the plan given here of the upper church at Assisi, the visitor is supposed to be at the end of the church which is furthest from the altar. A is on the left. The frescoes marked with an asterisk are partially obliterated.



A. The Creation of the Earth.*
B. The Creation of Man.*
C. The Creation of Woman.
D. The Temptation.*
E. The Expulsion from Paradise.
F, G, H. Destroyed.
I. The Building of the Ark.
J. Destroyed.
K. The Sacrifice of Isaac.*
L. Nearly destroyed.
M. Esau sells his Birthright.
N. Esau before Isaac.
O. Joseph in the Well.*
P. The Cup found in the Sack of Benjamin.

the windows, he painted a series of thirty-two frescoes,[21] representing passages from the life and acts of the saint; namely, sixteen on each side, a work which he executed so perfectly as to acquire great fame from it. And, of a truth, there is singular variety in these frescoes; not only

a. The Annunciation.
b. Nearly destroyed.
c. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
d. Destroyed.
e. The Presentation.*
f. The Flight into Egypt.*
g. Destroyed.
h. The Baptism of Christ.
i. The Marriage of Cana.*
j. Destroyed.
k. The Capture on the Mount.
l. Destroyed.
m. Christ Bearing the Cross.
n. The Crucifixion.
o. The *Pietà*.
p. The Marys at the Sepulchre.
q. The Ascension.
v. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.
s, t. Medallions—SS. Peter and Paul.

Frescoes from the Legend of St. Francis, upper church of Assisi:

1. Homage to St. Francis.
2. St. Francis gives away his cloak.
3. A Vision of St. Francis.
4. The Crucifix speaks to St. Francis.
5. St. Francis renounces his Father.
6. The Vision of Pope Innocent.
7. Approval of the Order of St. Francis.
8. St. Francis in the Chariot of Fire.
9. St. Francis hears a voice from Heaven.
10. The Franciscans cast out Devils.
11. The Ordeal before the Soldan.
12. St. Francis in a Cloud is spoken to by God.
13. St. Francis represents in a Mystery Play the Adoration of the Shepherds.
14. The Miraculous Draught.
15. St. Francis and the Birds.
16. St. Francis prophesies death to his Host.
17. St. Francis Preaches before Innocent.
18. Miraculous appearance at Arles of St. Francis.
19. St. Francis receives the *Stigmata*.
20. The Ascension of St. Francis.
21. The Revelation to the Bishop of Assisi of St. Francis' death.
22. The Incredulity of Girolamo.
23. St. Clara before the body of St. Francis.
24. Canonisation of St. Francis.
25. The Vision of Gregory.
26. St. Francis saves the life of a Wounded Man.
27. Apparition of St. Francis to a lady of Benevento.
28. St. Francis liberates a Prisoner.

In the Life of Cimabue Vasari says that Cimabue commenced the frescoes from the Life of St. Francis.

[21] As to the direct authorship of those twenty-eight frescoes in the upper church of Assisi, which are usually called Giotto's, critics disagree, and the damaged condition of the works makes it impossible to completely settle the question. There is, however, little doubt that Giotto planned and directed the greater part of the work, and personally executed as much of it as he was able, within the limits of the time allowed him.

in the gestures and attitudes of each figure, but also in the composition of all the stories: the different costumes of those times are also represented; and, in all the accessories, nature is most faithfully adhered to. Among other figures, that of a thirsty man stooping to drink from a fountain, is worthy of perpetual praise: the eager desire with which he bends towards the water is portrayed with such marvellous effect, that one could almost believe him to be a living man actually drinking. There are many other parts of this work that well merit remark, but I refrain from alluding to them, lest I become too discursive. Let it suffice to say, that it added greatly to the fame of Giotto, for the beauty of the figures, the good order, just proportion, and life of the whole, while the facility of execution, which he had received from nature, and afterwards perfected by study, was made manifest in every part of the work. Giotto has indeed well merited to be called the disciple of nature rather than of other masters; having not only studiously cultivated his natural faculties, but being perpetually occupied in drawing fresh stores from nature, which was to him the never-failing source of inspiration.

When the stories above described were finished, Giotto continued to labour in the same place, but in the lower church,[22] where he painted the upper part of the walls beside the high altar, together with the four angles of the vault, beneath which the remains of St. Francis repose. All of these display rich and original invention.[23] In the first angle is

[22] Giotto's frescoes in the lower church of Assisi belong (according to Woltmann and Woermann) to the period following the completion of the Arena Chapel of Padua. Vasari, however, describes these later frescoes with the earlier ones in the upper church. Some of the frescoes mentioned by Vasari are not admitted by all critics to be by Giotto, while certain authors are disposed to accredit the execution of only two or three of them to the latter painter.

[23] The upper and lower churches offer the richest fresco colour which the fourteenth century has left in Italy; it approaches the depth of mosaic; perhaps it would be more correct to say that in places it looks like so much old Limoges enamel. The colour of the lower church is solemn, that of the upper is more cheerful; there a blue and green scheme prevails, especially in the

St. Francis glorified in heaven, and surrounded by those virtues which are essential to him who desires fully to partake of the grace of God. On one side is Obedience, placing a yoke on the neck of a friar who kneels before her, the bands of the yoke being drawn towards heaven by hands above. The finger on the lip of Obedience imposes silence, while her eyes are fixed on Jesus, from whose side the blood is flowing: beside this Virtue, stand Prudence and Humility, to show that where there is true obedience, there are also humility and prudence, directing every action towards the right and good. In the second angle is Chastity, who, firm on a well-defended fortress, refuses to yield to any of the kingdoms, crowns, and glories, that are offered her on all sides. At the feet of Chastity is Purity, washing certain naked figures, while Force is conducting others towards her, to be also washed and purified. On one side of Chastity stands Penitence, driving away Love with the cord of discipline, and putting Incontinence to flight. The third compartment exhibits Poverty walking barefoot amidst thorns: a dog follows her, barking, and a boy throws stones at her, while a second gathers the thorns about her, and presses them into her legs with a stick. This Poverty[24] is here seen to be espoused by St. Francis, while Christ himself is holding her hand; and Hope, not without significance, is present, together with Charity.[25] In the fourth and last of these angles is a St. Francis, also glorified, as in the first compartment. He is dressed in the white tunic of the deacon,[26] and is triumphant in Heaven, attended by a multitude of angels, who form a

vaulting, where rain has done much damage to the forms but has produced some lovely accidental colours. In 1892 this vaulting was being again restored, but the painter told us he should limit himself to filling in flat tints and should not attempt modelling.

[24] The drawing on vellum of this group was in the collection of M. Reiset, from which it passed into that of the Duke d'Aumale. See Giotto's *Canzone* on Poverty.—Milanesi, I., 426–428.

[25] The influence of Dante is felt in these frescoes; the espousal of St. Francis with Holy Poverty is referred to in *Il Paradiso*, *canto* XI.

[26] St. Francis was so humble that he was never ordained priest, but always remained a deacon.

choir around him ; they hold a standard, on which is a cross with seven stars ; and over all is the Holy Spirit. In each of these angles are certain Latin words, explanatory of the events depicted. Besides the paintings in these four compartments those on the walls are extremely fine, and well deserve our admiration, not only for their beauty, but also for the care with which they were executed, which was such that they have retained their freshness even to this day.[27] The portrait of Giotto himself, very well done, may be seen in one of these pictures ; and over the door of the sacristy is a fresco, also by him, representing St. Francis at the moment when he receives the stigmata ;[28] the expression of the saint being so full of love and devotion, that to me this seems to be the best picture that Giotto has produced in this work, which is nevertheless all truly beautiful and admirable.

When Giotto had at length completed this St. Francis, he returned to Florence, where, immediately after his arrival, he painted a picture to be sent to Pisa. This is also a St. Francis, standing on the frightful rocks of La Verna ; and is finished with extraordinary care : it exhibits a landscape, with many trees and precipices, which was a new thing in those times. In the attitude and expression of St. Francis, who is on his knees receiving the stigmata, the most eager desire to obtain them is clearly manifest, as well as infinite love towards Jesus Christ, who from heaven

[27] M. Müntz instances the way in which Giotto laid antiquity under contribution. In a fresco of the upper church of San Francesco at Assisi he painted a Roman temple and selected for his example the Temple of Minerva in that town. (See *Les Précurseure de la Renaissance*, p. 22.) In other works he also showed study of classic details. See E. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, pp. 226, 227.

[28] By "*Stigmata*" we are to understand the five wounds of Christ. Several other saints, among them St. Catherine of Siena and St. Clara of Montefalco, bore these marks as a sign of, and reward for, peculiar sanctity. Modern medical science attributes them to natural causes. "There are cases on record in which grave nervous disturbances have resulted in such modifications of the flesh as may have left the traces of wounds in scars and blisters."

above, where he is seen surrounded by the seraphim, grants these stigmata to his servant with looks of such lively affection, that it is not possible to conceive any thing more perfect. Beneath this picture are three others, also from the life of St. Francis, and very beautiful. The picture of the Stigmatæ, just described, is still in the church of San Francesco[29] in Pisa, close beside the high altar. It is held in great veneration for the sake of the master; and caused the Pisans to entrust him with the decoration of their Campo Santo. The edifice was scarcely completed, from the design of Giovanni Pisano, as we have said above, when Giotto was invited to paint a portion of the internal walls. This magnificent fabric, being encrusted externally with rich marbles and sculptures, executed at immense cost, the roof covered with lead, and the interior filled with antique monuments and sepulchral urns of Pagan times, brought to Pisa from all parts of the world, it was determined that the inner walls should be adorned with the noblest paintings. To that end Giotto repaired to Pisa, and on one of the walls of the Campo Santo he painted the history of Job,[30] in six large frescoes; but, as he judiciously reflected, that the marble of that part of the building where he went to work, being turned towards the sea, and exposed to the south-east winds, was always humid, and gave out a certain saline moisture, as do nearly all the bricks of Pisa, which fades and corrodes the colours and pictures, so he caused a coating or intonaco to be made for every part whereon he proposed to paint in fresco, that his work might be preserved as long as possible; this intonaco was composed of lime, chalk, and powdered bricks, all so well mingled together, that the paintings which he afterwards executed on the surface thus prepared, remain in tolerable preservation to this day. Nay,

[29] This picture is now in the Louvre. It is inscribed: OPUS JOCTI FLORENTINI. The lower part is divided into three compartments. The Vision of Innocent III., Innocent III. Receiving St. Francis, and St. Francis Preaching to the Birds.

[30] These paintings are now known to be by Francesco of Volterra, who began them in 1371.—Milanesi, I., 381.

they might have been in much better condition, if the neglect of those who ought to have taken care of them had not suffered them to sustain injury from the damp: but this not having been guarded against, as it might easily have been, has caused some of the paintings to be spoiled in certain places; the flesh tints having become blackened, and the plaster fallen off. It is, besides, the nature of chalk, when mingled with lime, to become corroded and peel off with time, when it inevitably ruins the colours; although at first it seems to bind and secure them. In these stories, beside the portrait of Messer Farinata degli Uberti,[31] there are many admirable figures, more particularly those of certain villagers, who bring the grievous news of his losses to Job: no faces could be more eloquently demonstrative of the grief they feel for the lost cattle and other calamities, than are these. There is likewise extraordinary grace in the figure of a servant, who, with a fan of branches in his hand, stands near the suffering Job, now abandoned by all else. Every part of his figure is beautiful; but most of all to be admired is his attitude—as, driving the flies from his leprous and ill-odoured master with one hand, he guards himself from the pungent scents, from which he obviously shrinks, with the other. The remaining figures of these paintings, and the heads, those of the men as well as the women, are exceedingly beautiful; the draperies also are painted with infinite grace; nor is it at all surprising that this work acquired so much fame for its author as to induce Pope Benedict IX.[32] to send one of his courtiers from Treviso to Tuscany for the purpose of ascertaining what kind of man Giotto might be, and what were his works: that pontiff then proposing to have certain paintings executed in the church of St. Peter. The messenger, when on his way

[31] He was the commander of the Ghibelline forces at the battle of Arbia, and owing to his influence Florence was saved from being razed to the ground. See the *Inferno*, Cantos VI. and X.

[32] Vasari probably meant Benedict XI. Baldinucci, however, shows that Giotto was summoned to Rome by Boniface VIII. Giotto probably arrived in Rome in 1295, or according to some authorities between 1298 and 1300.

to visit Giotto, and to inquire what other good masters there were in Florence, spoke first with many artists in Siena—then, having received designs from them, he proceeded to Florence, and repaired one morning to the workshop where Giotto was occupied with his labours. He declared the purpose of the pope, and the manner in which that pontiff desired to avail himself of his assistance, and finally, requested to have a drawing, that he might send it to his holiness. Giotto, who was very courteous, took a sheet of paper, and a pencil dipped in a red colour; then, resting his elbow on his side, to form a sort of compass, with one turn of the hand he drew a circle, so perfect and exact that it was a marvel to behold. This done, he turned, smiling to the courtier, saying, "Here is your drawing." "Am I to have nothing more than this?" inquired the latter, conceiving himself to be jested with. "That is enough and to spare," returned Giotto: "Send it with the rest, and you will see if it will be recognized." The messenger, unable to obtain anything more, went away very ill-satisfied, and fearing that he had been fooled. Nevertheless, having despatched the other drawings to the pope, with the names of those who had done them, he sent that of Giotto also, relating the mode in which he had made his circle, without moving his arm and without compasses; from which the pope, and such of the courtiers as were well versed in the subject, perceived how far Giotto surpassed all the other painters of his time. This incident becoming known, gave rise to the proverb, still used in relation to people of dull wits—"*Tu sei più tondo che l'O di Giotto*"—the significance of which consists in the double meaning of the word "*tondo*," which is used in the Tuscan for slowness of intellect and heaviness of comprehension, as well as for an exact circle. The proverb has besides an interest from the circumstance which gave it birth.

Giotto was then invited by the above-named pope to Rome, where his talents were at once appreciated by that pontiff, and himself treated very honourably. He was in-

stantly appointed to paint a large picture in the sacristy of St. Peter's,[33] with five others in the church itself—these last being passages from the life of Christ;[34] all which he executed with so much care, that no better work in distemper ever proceeded from his hands; so that he well deserved the reward of 600 gold ducats, which the pope, considering himself well served, commanded to be paid him, beside conferring on him so many favours, that there was talk of them throughout all Italy.

The pope having seen these works of Giotto, whose manner pleased him infinitely, commanded that he should paint subjects, from the Old and New Testaments, entirely around the walls of St. Peter's; and, for a commencement, the artist executed in fresco, the Angel, seven braccia high, which is now over the organ: this was followed by many other pictures, of which some have been restored in our own days, while more have been either destroyed in laying the foundations of the new walls, or have been taken from the old edifice of St. Peter's, and set under the organ; as is the case with a Madonna, which was cut out of the wall that it might not be totally destroyed, and, being supported by beams and bars of iron, was thus carried away and secured, for its beauty, in the place wherein the pious love which the Florentine doctor, Messer Nicolo Acciainoli,* has ever borne to the excellent in art, desired to see it enshrined, and where he has richly adorned this work of Giotto with a framework composed of modern pictures and of ornaments in stucco.[35]

* Read Acciaiuoli. The Acciaiuoli was a great Florentine family and this Doctor Niccolò was named after the famous Niccolò Acciaiuoli, Grand Seneschal of the kingdom of Naples, who built the Certosa of Val d'Ema and was the friend and correspondent of Petrarch and Boccaccio.

[33] This altar-piece is now in the sacristy of St. Peter's. It was painted for Cardinal Gaetano Stefaneschi for the sacristy of old St. Peter's. There are additional subjects in the borders, etc. For a description of them see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, I. p. 253.

[34] These works executed in old St. Peter's have perished.

[35] All of these works in St. Peter's have perished. Vasari makes no mention of Giotto's frescoes of the porch of the Lateran of which the fragment representing Pope Boniface VIII. between two cardinals proclaiming the jubilee (1300) alone remains.

The picture in mosaic, known as the Navicella,[36] and which stands above the three doors of the portico in the vestibule of St. Peter's, is also from the hand of Giotto,—a truly wonderful work, and deservedly eulogized by all enlightened judges; and this not only for the merit of the design, but also for that of the grouping of the apostles, who labour in various attitudes to guide their boat through the tempestuous sea, while the winds blow in a sail, which is swelling with so vivid a reality, that the spectator could almost believe himself to be looking at a real sail. Yet it must have been excessively difficult to produce the harmony and interchange of light and shadows which we admire in this work, with mere pieces of glass, and that in a sail of such magnitude,—a thing which, even with the pencil, could only be equalled by great effort. There is a fisherman, also, standing on a rock and fishing with a line, in whose attitude the extraordinary patience proper to that occupation is most obvious, while the hope of prey and his desire for it, are equally manifest in his countenance. Beneath this work are three small arches, painted in fresco; but as they are almost entirely destroyed, I will say no more of them; but the praises universally bestowed by artists on the mosaic above described, were, without doubt, fully merited.

Giotto afterwards painted a large picture of the Crucifixion, in distemper, for the church of Minerva, belonging to the Preaching Friars, which was very highly praised at the time:[37] he then returned to his native Florence, whence he had been absent six years. No long time after this, Benedict IX. (XI.) being dead, Clement V. was elected pope

[36] Executed, according to Baldinucci, in 1298. This mosaic has been restored so many times that the composition is probably all that can be ascribed to Giotto. Eastlake's Kugler states that the fisherman and the figures in the air are in their present form the work of Marcello Provenzale. The ship (*la Navicella*) struggling through the waves was often used in early Christian art to symbolize the trials of the primitive church. It was painted in the catacombs, carved on the *sarcophagi*, and placed in the vestibule of the basilica for the edification of the faithful.

[37] This crucifixion is lost. There is still a wooden crucifix in the church which is assigned to Giotto without the slightest reason.

at Perugia, when Giotto was obliged to depart again with that pontiff, who removed his court to Avignon, where our artist produced many admirable works ;[38] and not there only, but in many other parts of France, he painted many beautiful pictures and frescoes which infinitely delighted the pontiff and his whole court, insomuch that, when all were finished, Giotto was graciously dismissed with many presents, so that he returned home no less rich than honoured and renowned. Among other things, he brought back with him the portrait of the pontiff, which he afterwards presented to his disciple Taddeo Gaddi. The return of Giotto to Florence took place in the year 1316 ; but he was not long permitted to remain in that city, being invited to Padua by the Signori della Scala, for whom he painted a most magnificent chapel[39] in the Santo, a church just then erected. From Padua he proceeded to Verona, where he painted certain pictures for Messer Cane, the father of Francesca da Rimini,[40]* in the palace of that noble, more particularly the portrait of Cane himself : he also executed a picture for the Fraternity of St. Francis. Having completed these works, Giotto departed for Tuscany, but was compelled to halt at Ferrara, where he painted certain works for the Signori d'Este, as well in their palace as in the church of Sant' Agostino, where they are still to be seen.[41] Meanwhile, as it had come to the ears of Dante that Giotto was in Ferrara, he so contrived that the latter was induced

* Here the translator intercalated a few words which do not exist in the original work, i. e.; "the father of Francesca da Rimini." Can Grande was not the father of Francesca ; she was the daughter of Guido da Polenta of Ravenna and the wife of Lancilotto Malatesta, lord of Rimini.

[38] Though Vasari repeats this statement in the Life of Andrea Pisano and an early commentator of Dante also asserts that Giotto visited Avignon, no works of his remain there. The dates are hard to reconcile, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle refuse to believe in the visit. Milanesi, I., 387, affirms that Benedict did not invite him to Avignon until after 1334, and that the artist's death intervening, no journey took place.

[39] In the church of St. Anthony, only slight vestiges remain.

[40] Can Grande della Scala.

[41] Neither documents nor paintings exist which would prove that Giotto worked in Verona or Ferrara.

to visit Ravenna, where the poet was then in exile, and where Giotto painted some frescoes, which are moderately good, in the church of San Francesco, for the Signori da Polenta.[42] He then proceeded from Ravenna to Urbino, where he also painted some pictures. After this, as he was passing through Arezzo he could not refuse to comply with the wishes of Piero Saccone, who had ever treated him with great kindness, and therefore painted a fresco for him in the principal chapel of the Episcopal church. The subject is St. Martin dividing his mantle in half, and bestowing one of the portions on a beggar, who stands before him almost entirely naked.[43] Having then executed a large Crucifixion, in distemper, on panel, for the abbey of Santa Fiore, which is still in the middle of that church,[44] he returned at length to Florence, where, among many other works, he painted pictures, both in distemper and fresco, for the convent of the Nuns of Faenza, all of which have been lost in the destruction of that convent. In the year 1322, his most intimate friend, Dante, having died, to his great sorrow, the year preceding, Giotto repaired to Lucca, and, at the request of Castruccio, then lord of that city, which was the place of his birth, he executed a picture,[45] in the church of San Martino, representing Christ hovering in the air over the four saints, protectors of Lucca, namely, San Piero, San Regolo, San Martino, and San Paulino; they appear to be recommending to him a pope and an emperor, who, as many believe, are Frederick of Bavaria and the antipope, Nicholas V. Many also maintain that at San Frediano, in this same city of Lucca, Giotto likewise designed the castle and fortress of Giusta,[46] which is impregnable.

[42] The works in San Francesco have perished.

[43] This picture has perished.

[44] This work still exists and is in good condition.

[45] Neither annotators of Vasari nor guides of Lucca mention this picture. If Giotto painted it in 1322, it antedated the Antipope, Nicholas V.; it might have represented Federigo d'Austria and Pope Giovanni XXII.

[46] It is doubtful if the works at Augusta, of which Giusta is a corruption, were designed by Giotto.

Some time after this, and when Giotto had returned to Florence, Robert, king of Naples,[47] wrote to his eldest son Charles, king of Calabria, who was then in Florence, desiring that he would, by all means, send Giotto to him at Naples, he having just completed the convent and church of Santa Clara, which he desired to see adorned by him with noble paintings. Giotto, therefore, being thus invited by so great and renowned a monarch, departed with the utmost readiness to do him service, and being arrived, he painted various subjects, from the Old and New Testaments, in the different chapels of the building. It is said that the passages from the Apocalypse, which he has painted in one of these chapels,[48] were inventions of Dante, as were probably those so highly eulogized of Assisi, respecting which we have already spoken at sufficient length. It is true that Dante was then dead, but it is very probable that these subjects may have been discussed between Giotto and him: a thing which so frequently happens among friends.

But to return to Naples. Giotto executed many works in the Castel dell' Uovo, particularly in the chapel,[49] which greatly pleased the king, by whom Giotto was indeed so much beloved, that while at his work he was frequently held in conversation by that monarch, who took pleasure in watching the progress of his labours and in hearing his remarks. Now Giotto had always a jest ready, and was never at a loss for a witty reply, so that he amused the king with his hand while he painted, and also by the acuteness of his pleasant conversation. Thus, one day, the king telling him that he would make him the first man in Naples, Giotto replied that

[47] In 1329, Robert I. King of Naples, wrote to Charles, who was duke and not king of Calabria. The date of Giotto's arrival at Naples is variously given as 1329 or 1330.

[48] The frescoes in Santa Chiara were whitewashed in the eighteenth century "to give more light to the church;" those in the Castel dell' Uovo shared the same fate. There is, however, one remaining fresco which is ascribed to Giotto and his pupils by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. It represents the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, and is in the old refectory of the former monastery, which was a carpet warehouse in 1890.

[49] These works are lost.

he already was the first man in Naples, "for to that end it is that I dwell at the Porta Reale," where the first houses of the city stand. Another time, the king saying to him, "Giotto, if I were in your place, now that it is so hot, I would give up painting for a time, and take my rest." "And so I would do, certainly," replied Giotto, "if I were in your place." Giotto being thus so acceptable to King Robert, was employed by him to execute numerous paintings in a hall (which King Alfonso afterwards destroyed to make room for the castle), and also in the church of the Incoronata.[50] Among those of the hall, were many portraits of celebrated men, Giotto himself being of the number. One day the king, desiring to amuse himself, requested Giotto to depict his kingdom, when the painter, as it is said, drew an ass, bearing a pack-saddle loaded with a crown and sceptre, while a similar saddle lay at his feet, also bearing the ensigns of sovereignty: these last were all new; and the ass scented them with an expression of desire to change them for those he then bore. The king inquired what this picture might signify; when Giotto replied, "Such is the kingdom, and such the subjects, who are every day desiring a new lord." Leaving Naples to proceed to Rome, Giotto was detained at Gaeta, where he was persuaded to paint certain subjects from the New Testament for the church of the Annunciation.[51] These works are now greatly injured by time, but not to such a degree as to prevent us from clearly distinguishing the portrait of Giotto himself, which will be found near a large and very beautiful crucifix. These works being completed, he passed some days in Rome, in the service of the Signor Malatesta, to whom he could not refuse this favour; he then repaired to Rimini, of which city the said Malatesta was lord, and painted numerous pictures in

[50] Dates prove that the frescoes of the Incoronata are not by Giotto. The frescoes represent the seven sacraments. The "Sacrament of Marriage" shows the nuptials of Louis of Tarentum and Giovanna, queen of Naples. This wedding did not take place until eleven years after Giotto's death, and the building itself was not begun until 1352.

[51] These works have perished.

the church of San Francesco; but these works were afterwards destroyed by Gismondo, son of Pandolfo Malatesta, who rebuilt the entire edifice. He also painted a fresco on the cloisters in front of the church. This was the history of the Beata Michelina.[52]

Having finished his labours for this noble Giotto executed a painting at the request of a Florentine Prior, who was then at San Cataldo of Rimini: the subject is St. Thomas Aquinas reading to his monks; and the work is without the door of the church.[53] He then departed, and returned to Ravenna, where he painted a chapel in fresco in the church of St. John the Evangelist, which was highly celebrated.[54] After this, Giotto returned to Florence, rich in honours, and with sufficient worldly wealth. He there painted a crucifix in wood,[55] larger than the natural size, in distemper, on a ground of gold, for the church of St. Mark, and which was placed in the south aisle of the church. He executed a similar work for the church of Santa Maria Novella, being aided in this last by Puccio Capanna, his scholar: it may still be seen over the principal door of the church, on the right as you enter, and over the tomb of the Gaddi family.[56] In the same church he painted a St. Louis, for Paolo di Lotto d'Ardinghelli, at the

[52] These frescoes have been whitewashed. La Michelina died in 1356. Giotto therefore could not have executed these works. They are probably by one of his pupils. A long description of the frescoes is omitted here.

[53] This fresco, once above the great door of the church, which is now called San Domenico, has disappeared.

[54] The vaulting of the chapel of St. Bartolommeo has frescoes of the four Evangelists and four Doctors of the Church. Other frescoes are in Santa Maria *in Porto Fuori*, Santa Croce, and the Badia della Pomposa. They are attributed to Giotto, but are very inferior to his general work. For detailed descriptions see Lord Lindsay's Sketches of Christian Art.

[55] The authenticity of this crucifix is doubtful. It is now in the interior over the entrance gate.

[56] The design is not considered by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be by Giotto. In a will dated June 15, 1312, Riccucio di Puccio left money for oil for a lamp to be kept burning in front of the crucifix "by the great painter Giotto di Bondone." Vasari makes Puccio Capanna the collaborator of Giotto.

feet of which is the portrait of the donor and his wife, taken from nature.[57]

In the year 1327, Guido Tarlati da Pietramala, Bishop and Lord of Arezzo, died at Massa di Maremma, when returning from Lucca, whither he had gone to visit the emperor, and his body was carried to Arezzo, where it received the honour of a most solemn and magnificent funeral. It was then resolved by Piero Saccone, and Dolfo da Pietramala, brother of the bishop, that a sepulchral monument in marble, worthy of the greatness of a man who had been lord spiritual and temporal of the city, as well as chief of the Ghibelline party in Tuscany, should be raised to his memory. They wrote accordingly to Giotto, requesting him to prepare designs for a very splendid tomb, adorned with whatever might most worthily enrich it; and sending him the required measurements. They prayed him, at the same time, to procure them a sculptor, the most excellent, according to his opinion, that could be found in Italy, they referring the whole affair entirely to his judgment. Giotto, who was very obliging, made the design, and sent it them, when the monument was erected accordingly, as will be related in its proper place.[58] Now the talents of Giotto were very highly appreciated by Piero Saccone, and he, having taken the Borgo di San Sepolcro, no long time after he had received the above-named design, took a picture thence, which had been formerly painted by Giotto, and which he carried to Arezzo. The figures were small, and the work afterwards fell to pieces, but the fragments were diligently sought by Baccio Gondi, a Florentine gentleman, and lover of the fine arts, who was commissioner of Arezzo: having recovered some of them, he took them to Florence, where

[57] The fate of this picture is not known.

[58] According to Vasari, in the Lives of Agostino and Agnolo of Siena, Giotto seems to have recommended these artists to the Aretines, who gave them the commission for the monument, but Milanesi believes these sculptors to have been too well established in their own art to accept the design of another, though they did undertake the monument in 1327 and finish it in 1330.

he holds them in high estimation, and preserves them carefully, together with other works of the same artist, who produced so many, that, were all enumerated, their amount would seem incredible. And not many years since, when I was myself at the hermitagé of Camaldoli, where I executed many works for the reverend fathers, I saw a small Crucifixion by Giotto, in one of the cells, which had been brought thither by the very Reverend Don Antonio, of Pisa, then general of the congregation of Camaldoli. This work, which is on a gold ground, and has the name of Giotto inscribed on it by himself, is very beautiful, and is still preserved, as I was told by the Reverend Don Silvano Razzi, a monk of Camaldoli, in the monastery Degli Angeli, at Florence, where it is kept in the cell of the prior, together with a most exquisite picture by Raphael, as a rare and valuable relic of the master.[59]

A chapel and four pictures were painted by Giotto, for the fraternity of the Umiliati d' Ognissanti, in Florence; among these works is a figure of the Virgin, surrounded by angels, and holding the child in her arms, with a large crucifix on panel,[60] the design of which last being taken by Puccio Capanna, he executed great numbers in the same manner (having intimate knowledge of Giotto's method), which were afterwards scattered through all Italy. When this book of the Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, was first published, there was a small picture in distemper, in the transept of the church belonging to the Umiliati, which had been painted by Giotto with infinite care. The subject was the death of the Virgin, with the Apostles around her, and with the figure of Christ, who receives her soul into his arms. This work [61] has been greatly prized by artists, and was above all valued by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who declared, as we have said before, that nothing in

[59] These works are lost.

[60] The painting of the Virgin is in the Florentine Academy, the crucifixion is in the Gondi-Dini chapel of the church. The other works mentioned are lost.

[61] Said to be in a private collection in England.

painting could be nearer to the life than this was, and it rose still higher in the general estimation after these Lives had appeared; but has since been carried away from the church, perhaps from love of art and respect to the work, which may have seemed to the robber to be not sufficiently reverenced, who thus out of piety became impious, as our poet saith. It may with truth be called a miracle, that Giotto attained to so great an excellence of manner, more particularly when we consider that he acquired his art in a certain sense without any master.

After completing these works, and on the 9th of July, 1334, Giotto commenced the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore; the foundations were laid on massive stone, sunk twenty braccia beneath the surface, on a site whence gravel and water had previously been excavated; then having made a good concrete to the height of twelve braccia, he caused the remainder, namely eight braccia, to be formed of masonry. The bishop of the city, with all the clergy and magistrates, were present at the foundation, of which the first stone was solemnly laid by the bishop himself.[62] The edifice then proceeded on the plan before mentioned, and in the Gothic manner of those times; all the historical representations which were to be the ornaments, being designed with infinite care and diligence by Giotto himself, who marked out on the model all the compartments where the friezes and sculptures were to be placed, in colors of white, black, and red. The lower circumference of the tower is of one hundred braccia, twenty-five that is on each of the four sides. The height is one hundred and forty-four braccia. And if that which Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti has written be true, as I fully believe it is, Giotto not only made the model of the campanile, but even executed a part of the sculptures

[62] Richa (*Chiese Fiorentine*, VI., 62) gives the following decree, which is dated 1334. The record is from page 56 of Del Migliore's MS.

"The Florentine republic soaring even above the conception of the most competent judges, desires that an edifice shall be constructed so magnificent in its height and quality that it shall surpass any thing of the kind produced in the time of their greatest power by the Greeks and Romans."

and reliefs,—those representations in marble, namely, which exhibit the origin of all the arts.[63] Lorenzo also affirms that he saw models in relief from the hand of Giotto, and more particularly those used in these works: an assertion that we can easily believe; for design and invention are the parents of all the arts, and not of one only. This campanile, according to the design of Giotto, was to have been crowned by a spire or pyramid, of the height of fifty braccia: but as this was in the old Gothic manner, the modern architects have always advised its omission: the building appearing to them better as it is. For all these works, Giotto was not only made a citizen of Florence,[64] but also received a pension of a hundred golden florins yearly—a large sum in those times—from the commune of Florence. He was also appointed superintendent of the work, which he did not live to see finished; but which was continued after his death by Taddeo Gaddi.[65] While this undertaking was in progress, Giotto painted a picture for the nuns of San Giorgio,[66] and in the abbey of Florence, within the church, and on an arch over the door, he executed three half-length figures, which were afterwards whitewashed over, *to give more light to the church.* In the great hall of the Podestà in Florence, Giotto painted a picture, the idea of which was afterwards frequently borrowed. In this he represented the Commune seated, in the character of a judge, with a sceptre in the hand, and equally poised scales over the head, to intimate

[63] In the life of Luca della Robbia, Vasari limits Giotto's workmanship to the first and second reliefs representing sculpture and architecture on the northern face of the Campanile. The remaining five on that side were executed by Luca after Giotto's designs. All the rest are accredited to Andrea Pisano. In spite of Ghiberti's statement that Giotto designed them nothing is known with certainty regarding Giotto's part in these works, and some of the best critics refuse him any part in Andrea's sculptures. These *rilievi* of the Campanile are very famous, and Mr. Ruskin has written of them at great length.

[64] Villani speaks of "*nostro cittadino*", from this expression we might assume that Giotto may have enjoyed the privilege of citizenship at an earlier period of his life. Both Boccaccio and Petrarch also call him citizen.

[65] Not by Taddeo Gaddi but by Andrea Pisano and Francesco Talenti.

[66] This picture, so much admired by Ghiberti, is lost.

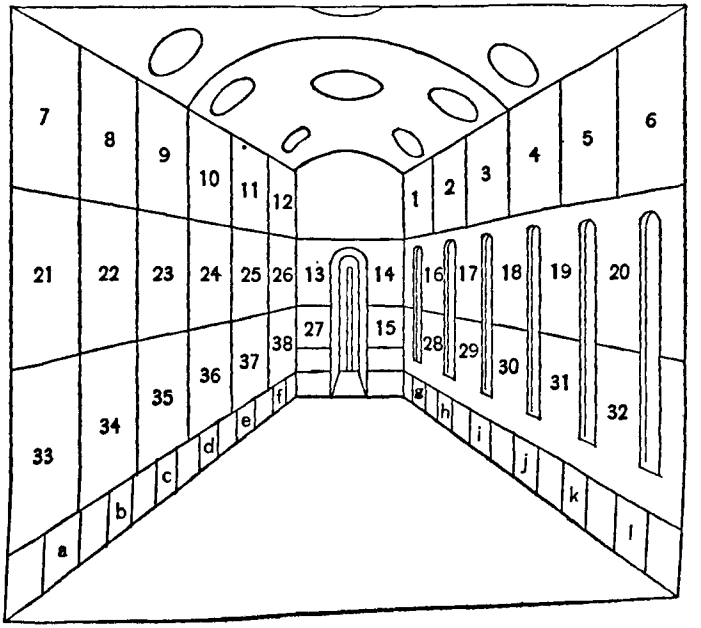
the rectitude of her decisions. The figure is surrounded by four Virtues: these are Force with generosity, Prudence with the laws, Justice with arms, and Temperance with the word. This is a very beautiful picture, of appropriate and ingenious invention.[67]

About this time, Giotto once more repaired to Padua, where he painted several pictures, and adorned many chapels; but more particularly that of the Arena,[68] where he executed various works, from which he derived both honour

[67] This work is also lost. It may have suggested the famous fresco of Ambrogio Lorenzetti in Siena.

[68] The Arena chapel was built about 1303 by Enrico Scrovegno, son of that Rinaldo Scrovegno placed by Dante among the avaricious in the seventh circle of the Inferno. Giotto was summoned to paint it towards 1306.

The lines of the chapel are pure and severe. The first twelve pictures are devoted to the life of the Virgin as recorded in the apocryphal gospels, The "*Protevangelion*" and the "Gospel of Saint Mary." In 1890 the chapel was being restored. Mr. Ruskin, "Giotto and His Works in Padua," gives a de-



and profit.[69] In Milan also he produced many paintings, which are scattered throughout that city, and are held in high estimation even to this day.[70] Finally, and no long time after he had returned from Milan, having passed his

tailed description of it. The annexed plan giving the general arrangement of the frescoes is numbered in accordance with the list.

List of the frescoes in the Arena chapel of Padua.

1. The Rejection of Joachim's Offering.
2. Joachim retires to the Sheepfold.
3. Appearance of the Angel to Anna.
4. Joachim's Sacrifice.
5. Joachim's Vision.
6. The Meeting at the Golden Gate.
7. The Birth of the Virgin.
8. The Presentation of the Virgin.
9. The Bringing of the Rods to the High Priest.
10. The Watching of the Rods.
11. The Betrothal of the Virgin.
12. The Virgin conducted Home.
13. The Annunciatory Angel.
14. The Virgin Annunciate.
15. The Salutation.
16. The Nativity.
17. The Adoration of the Magi.
18. The Presentation in the Temple.
19. The Flight into Egypt.
20. The Massacre of the Innocents.
21. Christ disputing with the Doctors.
22. The Baptism of Christ.
23. The Marriage at Cana.
24. The Raising of Lazarus.
25. The Entry into Jerusalem.
26. Christ Driving the Pharisees from the Temple.
27. The Bargain with Judas.
28. The Last Supper.
29. Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet.
30. The Kiss of Judas.
31. Christ Before Caiaphas.
32. The Flagellation.
33. Christ Bearing the Cross.
34. The Crucifixion.
35. The *Pietà*.
36. The *Noli me tangere*.
37. The Ascension.
38. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.

, The narrow panels a, b, c, d, etc., are filled with figures of the Virtues and Vices. On the *lunette* above the Tribune is a "Christ in Glory," and at the western extremity of the church is the "Last Judgment." The field of the vaulting is blue and starred, and is adorned with medallions of prophets. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest that the large panels were probably executed with the aid of pupils, but that Giotto painted the Virtues and Vices with his own hand.

[69] "The man who painted these pictures had genius, heart, ideas—everything except science, which is the work of centuries, and finish of execution." Taine, *Voyage en Italie—Florence et Venice.*

Mr. W. J. Stillman in his "Giotto" (*Century Magazine*, Jan., 1889) speaks of the Arena chapel as an "inexhaustible quarry of pure art." Certainly in their composition, their simplicity, their effectiveness as pure decoration, and in their dramatic force, these frescoes are some of the finest things in the whole history of art, ancient or modern, though they lack the subtilties of later technical achievement.

[70] The works executed in Milan have perished.

life in the production of so many admirable works, and proved himself a good Christian as well as an excellent painter, Giotto resigned his soul to God in the year 1336, not only to the great regret of his fellow-citizens, but of all who had known him, or even heard his name. He was honourably entombed, as his high deserts had well merited that he should be, having been beloved by all in his life, but more especially by the eminent men of all professions. Of Dante we have already spoken as his intimate friend; his character and talents were equally admired by Petrarch, insomuch that this last poet, as we read in his testament, bequeathed to Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, among other things which he highly valued, a picture of the Virgin by Giotto,[71] as a rare and acceptable gift, which is thus distinguished in that clause of the will which relates to it:—

"Transeo ad dispositionem aliarum rerum; et prædicto igitur domino meo Paduano, quia et ipse per Dei gratiam non eget, et ego nihil aliud habeo dignum se, mitto tabulam meam sive historiam Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, opus Jocti pictoris egregii, quæ mihi ab amico meo Michaele Vannis de Florentia missa est, in cujus puchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent: hanc iconem ipsi domino lego, ut ipsa Virgo benedicta sibi sit propitia apud filium suum Jesum Christum," etc.

Petrarch further remarks, in a Latin epistle to be found in the fifth book of his familiar letters, to the following effect:

"Atque (ut a veteribus ad nova, ab externis ad nostra transgrediar) duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos, Jottum Florentinum civem, cujus inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem Senensem, novi scultores aliquot," etc.

Giotto was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore, where an inscription on white marble to the memory of this great man was placed on the wall to the left of the entrance. The commentator of Dante, who was contemporary with Giotto, has spoken of him, as we have related in the life of Cimabue, in the following words: "Giotto was and is the most eminent of all the painters in the city of Florence, and to

[71] This picture is lost.

this his works bear testimony in Rome, Naples, Avignon, Florence, Padua, and many other parts of the world."

Giotto, as we have said before, was of an exceedingly jocund humour, and abounded in witty and humorous remarks, which are still well remembered in Florence.[72] Examples of these may be found, not only in the writings of Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, but also in the three hundred stories of Franco Sacchetti, who cites many amusing instances of his talent in this way. And here I will not refuse the labour of transcribing some of these stories, giving them in Franco's own words, that my readers may be made acquainted with the peculiar phraseology and modes of speech used in those times, together with the story itself. He says, then, in one of these, to set it forth with its proper title:

"To Giotto, the great painter, is given a buckler to paint, by a man of small account. He, making a jest of the matter, paints it in such sort, that the owner is put out of countenance.

"Every one has long since heard of Giotto, and knows how greatly he stood above all other painters. Hearing the fame of this master, a rude artizan, who desired to have his buckler painted, perhaps because he was going to do watch and ward in some castle, marched at once to the work-shop of Giotto, with one bearing the shield behind him. Having got there, he speedily found Giotto, to whom he said, 'God save thee, master! I would fain have thee paint me my arms on this shield.' Giotto, having examined the man and considered his manner, replied nothing more than—'When

[72] It is the custom in Florence on the first Sunday of the month for men and women to go together to San Gallo rather for pleasure than for devotion. On one of these Sundays Giotto, who was on his way there with his friends, while telling a certain story, stopped in the Via Del Cocomero. Some of St. Anthony's pigs were passing at the time, and one of them ran between his legs and threw him down. When Giotto, with the help of his friends, had picked himself up, he shook himself, and without cursing the pigs or saying a word against them, turned to his companions and half smiling said: "Are they not right, when I have earned in my day thousands of crowns with their bristles and I have never given them even a bowl of soup." Sacchetti, *Novella* LXXV.

wilt thou have it finished?' which the other having told him, he answered, 'Leave the matter to me;' and the fellow departed. Then Giotto, being left alone, began to think within himself, 'What may this mean? Hath some one sent this man to make a jest of me? However it be, no man ever before brought me a buckler to paint; yet here is this simple fellow, who brings me his shield, and bids me paint his arms upon it, as though he were of the royal family of France. Of a verity, I must make him arms of a new fashion.' Thinking thus within himself, he takes the said buckler, and having designed what he thought proper, called one of his scholars, and bade him complete the painting. This was a* tin skull-cap, a gorget,† a pair of iron gauntlets, with a cuirass, cuishes and gambadoes, a sword, a dagger, and a spear. Our great personage, of whom nobody knew anything, having returned for his shield, marches forward and inquires, 'Master, is this shield painted?' 'To be sure it is,' replied Giotto; 'bring it down here.' The shield being brought, our wise gentleman that-would-be, began to open his eyes and look at it, calling out to Giotto, 'What trumpery is this that thou hast painted me here?' 'Will it seem to thee a trumpery matter to pay for it?' answered Giotto. 'I will not pay five farthings for it all,' returned the clown. 'And what didst thou require me to paint,' asked Giotto. 'My arms.' 'And are they not here,' rejoined the painter; 'is there one wanting?' 'Good, good!' quoth the man. 'Nay, verily, but 'tis rather bad, bad!' responded Giotto. 'Lord help thee, for thou must needs be a special simpleton: why, if a man were to ask thee, "who art thou?" 'twould be a hard matter for thee to tell him; yet here thou comest and criest, "paint me my arms." If thou wert of the house of the Bardi, that were enough; but thou!—what arms dost thou bear? who art thou? who were thy forefathers? Art thou not ashamed of thyself! Begin at least to come into the world before thou

* Read a steel skull-cap.

† Intercalate "a pair of arm-pieces," omitted by translator.

talkest of arms, as though thou wert Dusnam of Bavaria at the very least. I have made thee a whole suit of armour on thy shield: if there be any other piece, tell me, and I'll put that too.' 'Thou hast given me rough words, and hast spoiled my shield,' declared the other; and going forth, he betook himself to the justice, before whom he caused Giotto to be called. The latter forthwith appeared; but on his side summoned the complainant for two florins, the price of the painting, and which he demands to be paid. The pleadings being heard on both sides, and Giotto's story being much better told than that of our clown, the judges decided that the latter should take away his buckler, painted as it was, and should pay six livres to Giotto, whom they declared to have the right. Thus the good man had to pay and to take his shield; whereupon he was bidden to depart, and not knowing his place, had it taught to him on this wise."

It is said that Giotto, when he was still a boy, and studying with Cimabue, once painted a fly on the nose of a figure on which Cimabue himself was employed, and this so naturally, that when the master returned to continue his work, he believed it to be real, and lifted his hand more than once to drive it away before he should go on with the painting. Many other jests and witty retorts might be recorded of Giotto; but these, which appertain to art, shall suffice me to tell in this place; and for the rest I refer my reader to Franco and other writers.

The memory of Giotto is not only preserved in his own works, but is also consecrated in the writings of the authors of those times, he being the master by whom the true art of painting was recovered, after it had been lost during many years preceding his time: wherefore, by a public decree, and by command of the elder Lorenzo de' Medici, of glorious memory, who bore him a particular affection, and greatly admired the talent of this distinguished man, his bust was placed in Santa Maria del Fiore, being sculptured in marble by Benedetto da Majano, an excellent sculptor, and the following verses, by that divine poet, Messer Angelo Poliziano,

Giotto. Visitation of St Elizabeth.

were engraved thereon, to the end, that all who should distinguish themselves in any profession might have hope of receiving such memorials at the hands of others, his successors, as Giotto deserved and received from the hands of Lorenzo :—

Ille ego sum, per quem pictura extinta revixit,
Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit et facilis
Naturæ deerat nostræ quod defuit arti:
Plus licuit nulli pingere, nec melius
Miraris turrim egregiam sacro aere sonantem?
Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo,
Denique sum Jottus, quid opus fuit illa referre?
Hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit.

And that those who shall come after, may better know the excellence of this great man, and may judge him from drawings by his own hand,[73] there are some that are wonderfully

[73] From the beginning of modern art until the time of its culmination, under Raphael, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, Giotto and Masaccio stand as the two great masters of painting. As a dramatic painter and as a master of composition Giotto rose so high above his contemporaries, pupils, and followers that for a hundred years no real advance upon his works was made. In power of invention also he surpassed his contemporaries. In purely technical qualities, saving always his capacity for composition, he did not greatly overstep the limits of his age.

His faces usually resemble each other, and are constructed on the same lines, with elongated eyes, short, straight, rather snub noses and very full chins, in a type having its regular variation suited to the differences of age and sex. At rare intervals, as in the face of Elizabeth (the "Visitation," Arena chapel, Padua), he rises to wonderful individuality and intensity of expression. His hands and feet are weak, the latter often standing upon the points of the toes, more often still being hidden under drapery. The heads and bodies are round, short, robust, and peasant-like.

His draperies are admirable; his art cannot yet achieve their realistic representation, but he generalises them nobly, using few, large, and simple folds, which satisfactorily, indeed wonderfully for the time, express the movements of the wearers. His animals are too small; his architecture supported by long attenuated columns, indicates rather than realises locality. His landscape is in the same degree a suggestion, like the simple stage settings of Elizabethan times, but it is an immense advance upon what had gone before him. His color is light in key, eminently harmonious and thoroughly decorative. It is however a mistake to say that it is a complete departure from the Byzantine color of Cimabue and earlier masters, since the frescoes of Cimabue and Giunta

beautiful preserved in my book above-mentioned, and which I have collected with great diligence, as well as with much labour and expense.

in the upper church of Assisi, present some of the most delicately rich and colored effects to be found in Italy, and this decorative effect with Cimabue, as with Giotto, was caused by the use of relatively flat tints and the avoidance of over modelling. On the whole Giotto's two supreme attributes are his intense dramatic feeling and his almost unrivalled sense of composition.

ANDREA PISANO,[1] SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT.

[Born about 1270; died 1348.]

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THE art of painting has at no time been flourishing, without the sculptors also making admirable progress in their art at the same moment; and whoever will observe closely, shall find the works of all ages bearing testimony to the truth of this remark. And of a surety these two arts are sisters, born at the same period, nourished and guided by the same spirit. A proof of this is presented by Andrea Pisano, who, devoting himself to sculpture as Giotto did to painting, effected so important an amelioration in the art, both as to practice and theory, that he was esteemed the best master that the Tuscans had ever possessed. Andrea was most especially celebrated for his castings in bronze, and was, on this account, highly honoured by all, but more particularly by the Florentines, by whom his works were so largely remunerated, that he did not scruple to change his country, his connexions, his property, and his friends. The difficulties encountered by the masters in sculpture who had preceded him, were of infinite advantage to Andrea, since the works of those artists were so rude and common-place, that those of the Pisan were esteemed a mir-

[1] His name was Andrea di Ugolino di Nino; he was born at Pontedera in 1270, and being the son of a notary of Pisa, has been known as Andrea Pisano.

acle.[2] And that these earlier sculptures were indeed coarse, is clearly shown, as we have said elsewhere, by those over the principal door of San Paolo, in Florence, as well as by some in stone, which are in the church of Ognissanti; and are better calculated to excite ridicule, than admiration or pleasure,[3] in those who examine them. It is, however, certain, that if the art of sculpture incur the danger of losing its vitality, there is always less difficulty in its restoration than in that of painting, the former having ever the living and natural model, in the rounded forms which are such as she requires, while the latter cannot so lightly recover the pure outlines and correct manner demanded for her works, and from which alone the labours of the painter derive majesty, beauty, and grace. Fortune was in other respects favourable to Andrea, many relics of antiquity having been collected in Pisa by the fleets of that city, as results of their frequent victories; and from these, which still remain, as we have said, about the cathedral and Campo Santo, the sculptor Andrea obtained such instruction, and derived such light, as could by no means be obtained by the painter Giotto, since the ancient paintings had not been preserved as the sculptures had been. And although statues are often destroyed by fires, ruined by the furies of war, buried, or transported to distant lands, yet, whoever understands the subject thoroughly can readily distinguish the difference which exists in the manner of different countries; as, for example, that of the Egyptians—marked by the length and attenuation of the figures—from the Greek, displaying knowledge and deep study of the nude form, but with heads which have almost all the same expression; from the ancient Tuscan, somewhat rude, but careful in the arrangement of the hair; and, finally, from that of the Romans (I call those Romans, who, after the subjuga-

[2] This is an exaggeration, for he was a pupil of Giovanni Pisano and knew his works well.

[3] These sculptures in San Paolo and the Ognissanti have disappeared, but Andrea had seen and studied the admirable works of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano.

tion of Greece, repaired to Rome, whither all that was good and beautiful in the whole world was then transported), which last is so admirable, whether as regards the expression, the attitudes, or the movements of the figures, draped or nude, that the Romans may truly be said to have gathered the best qualities of all other methods and united them in their own, to the end that this might be superior to all, nay, absolutely divine, as it is.[4]

But all of good and pure in art being extinct in the time of Andrea, that manner only was in use which had been brought into Tuscany by the Goths and uncultivated modern Greeks. It was on this then, that Andrea brought his more accurate taste and finer judgment to bear: studying the few antiquities known to him, carefully profiting by Giotto's new method in design, and ultimately diminishing to a great extent the coarseness of the infelicitous manner then prevalent, he began to work in a much improved style, and to give greater beauty to his productions than had been attained by any other sculptor previous to that time. The talent possessed by Andrea becoming known, his compatriots readily gave him encouragement, and he was employed, while still very young, to execute certain small figures in marble, for Santa Maria a Ponte.[5] By these he obtained so high a reputation, that he received a pressing invitation to Florence, there to co-operate in the labours then in progress for the construction of Santa Maria del Fiore. The principal façade of this building, with its three doors, had been commenced, but there was a dearth of masters to execute the sculptures which Giotto had designed when the church was founded. The Florentines therefore engaged Andrea Pisano for this work; and as they were at that time anxious to render themselves acceptable to Pope Boniface VIII., who was then head of the Christian Church, they determined that before anything else was done, the portrait of his holiness should be drawn from nature, and sculptured in

[4] Few will concur with Vasari's criticism.

[5] These works are lost.

marble by Andrea. Thereupon he put his hand to the work, and did not rest until he had completed the statue of the pope, with St. Peter on one side of him and St. Paul on the other, when these three figures were placed on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, where they still remain. Andrea next prepared certain small figures of the prophets, in tabernacles or niches, for the central door, when it became obvious that he had effected important ameliorations in the art, and was greatly in advance of all who had laboured for that fabric before him. It was therefore determined that all works of importance should be confided to him, and to no other. He was, accordingly, soon afterwards appointed to execute the four statues of the principal doctors of the Church—St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; and these figures, being finished, acquired great favour and high reputation for the artist, not only from the superintendents of the work, but from the whole city; and two other statues in marble, of the same size, were entrusted to his care: these were St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, which were also placed on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, and stood on the outer angles.[6] The Madonna, of marble, three braccia and a half high, with the Child in her arms, which stands on the altar of the little church belonging to the company of the Misericordia, on the piazza of San Giovanni in Florence, is also by Andrea. This work was highly commended in that day, and more particularly for the two angels, two braccia and a half in height, which stand on each side of the Virgin.[7] The whole has been surrounded

[6] The *façade* was destroyed in 1586 when two-thirds finished, and the statues were dispersed; several of these, among them the Boniface VIII., are now in the Oricellari gardens. The four Doctors of the church were transformed into poets and placed at the opening of the Poggio Imperiale, but the documents cited by Milanesi mention no statues for the *façade* executed earlier than 1357; it is therefore improbable that any of these were the work of Andrea. M. Marcel Reymond (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*) thinks that these four statues postdate 1400, as do those in the courtyard of the Riccardi Palace, Florence.

[7] Not by Andrea, but by Alberto Arnoldi, who worked on Giotto's Campanile and afterwards rose to be *Capo-maestro* of the Duomo. The contract was

in our own days by some very well-executed carvings in wood, from the hand of Maestro Antonio, called Il Carota; while the predella beneath is covered with admirable figures, painted in oil, by Ridolfo, son of Domenico Ghirlandajo. The Virgin, in marble (half-length), which is over the lateral door of the Misericordia,[8] in the façade of the Cialdonai, is also by Andrea, who was highly commended for this work, in which, contrary to his custom, he imitated the pure manner of the antique, from which he generally differed widely; a fact rendered manifest by some drawings in my own book, wherein he has depicted the whole history of the Apocalypse.

Andrea Pisano had given some attention to architecture in his youth; and the commune of Florence found occasion to employ him in that art, when, Arnolfo being dead, and Giotto absent, they selected him to prepare designs for the castle of Scarperia[9] situate in the Mugello, at the foot of the Alps. Some affirm, but I will not vouch for the truth of the assertion, that Andrea passed a year in Venice, where he executed, in sculpture, certain small marble figures, which are to be seen on the façade of St. Mark. They further declare, that in the time of Messer Pietro Gradenigo, doge of that republic, Andrea prepared the designs for the arsenal, but as I have no high authority to offer on this subject, I leave

given (according to Perkins) June 13, 1359. The wood carvings were by Noferi d' Antonio di Noferi, 1515, and not by il Carota. Arnoldi and Fr. Talenti executed the main door of the cathedral, 1359. The Madonna for this door, now in the Opera del Duomo, is by an unknown sculptor.

[8] This work, executed in 1361, is now known to be by Alberto Arnoldi. It is still on the exterior of the Bigallo. M. Marcel Reymond, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893, considers that the scenes from Genesis in the *façade* of the cathedral of Orvieto are directly and strongly influenced by Andrea Pisano. In his interesting series of articles M. Reymond enthusiastically defends the originality of fourteenth century sculpture, declaring that "in its triumphal march down the fourteenth century Florentine sculpture never once looked towards Rome, but rather walked hand in hand with French sculpture." He claims the French sculpture as the real genesis of the early Italian work.

[9] The plans were ordered by the Republic in 1306, but the documents do not mention Andrea's name.

each one to form his own opinion respecting it.[10] When Andrea returned from Venice to Florence, the latter city was in great fear of the emperor, whose arrival was daily expected; the citizens therefore employed Andrea in great haste to raise their walls eight braccia higher in that portion of them which lies between St. Gallo and the gate of the Prato.[11] He was also commanded to construct bastions, stockades, and other strong defences, both in wood and earth-work. Three years previous to this, Andrea had acquired great honor by the execution of a cross in bronze, which he had sent to the pope in Avignon, by his intimate friend Giotto, who was then at that court.[12] He was, consequently, now appointed to execute one of the doors for the church of San Giovanni of Florence, for which Giotto had given a most beautiful design.[13] This he was employed to complete, I say, as being considered—among all the many who had hitherto laboured at that fabric—the most able, practiced, and judicious master, not of Tuscany only, but of all Italy. Hereupon he set himself to work with the firm resolve to spare neither time, labour, nor care, that this important undertaking might be successfully completed; and fortune was so propitious to his efforts, that although in those times they possessed none of the secrets in the art of casting with which we are now acquainted, yet in twenty-two years the work was brought to that perfection in which we see it.[14] Nay, more, within this same period the master

[10] Documents confirm Andrea as designer of the arsenal, and the existing statuettes of San Marco are apparently his handiwork.

[11] This work was finished in 1316.

[12] Milanesi ascribes this bronze crucifix to a Florentine goldsmith, Andrea Arditi.

[13] In 1330–1336.

[14] In 1329 the *Consoli d' Arte* decided that the Baptistery should have doors of metal "as fine as could be made." They sent Piero d' Jacopo, a goldsmith, to Pisa to inspect the bronze gates there, and to Venice to find a sculptor who should design a pair of them for San Giovanni. No sculptor being found in Venice who seemed worthy of the task, the consuls gave the commission in 1330 to Andrea Pisano. The gates were finished in 1333 and imperfectly cast in the same year by a Venetian. Andrea was obliged to recast them himself, and completed them in 1336. See Milanesi, I. 487, Note 3.

not only executed the tabernacle of the high altar of St. John,[15] with the angels standing one on each side of it, which are considered extremely beautiful, but also completed, after the designs of Giotto, those small figures in marble which adorn the door of the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore;[16] while around the tower he placed the seven planets, the seven virtues, and the seven works of mercy, in oval compartments, and represented by small figures in mezzo-rilievo which were then very much praised. Andrea further executed, within the above-named period, the three figures, each four braccia high, which were placed in the recesses beneath the windows of the same campanile, looking towards the orphan house,[17] on the southern side that is to say, and which were at that time considered to be very well done. But to return to the point whence I departed. In the bronze door which I was describing, are represented stories from the life of St. John the Baptist in basso-rilievo; they extend from his birth to his death, and are very happily and carefully executed. And although many are of opinion that this work does not exhibit the beauty of design and perfection of art required for such figures, yet is Andrea deserving of the highest praise for having been the first to attempt and bring to completion an undertaking which rendered it possible to those who came after him to produce the beauti-

[15] This altar was broken up in 1732, and the fragments passed through various hands, but the tabernacle is not now believed to have been by Andrea; it was executed in 1313, as is proved by the books of the *Arte di Calimala* for that year.

[16] Perkins (Historical Hand-book of Italian Sculpture, p. 37) finds them: "Giottesque only so far as they are conceived in the naturalistic spirit of the Florentine, rather than in the old classical spirit of the Pisan school." He believes that had it not been for tradition we should not think at all of Giotto as a co-operator in their execution. Mr. Ruskin's poetic descriptions have helped to make these reliefs famous; some of them are very fine in their simplicity and directness.

[17] This building, the Bigallo, now belongs to the confraternity of the Misericordia. According to M. Marcel Reymond, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893, the four statues, among them the Tiburtine and Erythraean Sibyls, once on the west side, and now on the north side of the Campanile, are by Andrea Pisano, and a small statue of Santa Reparata by him is in the Opera del Duomo.

ful and arduous works which we admire in the remaining two doors, and in the other exterior ornaments of the building. The work of Andrea was placed in the central door of the church, where it remained until Lorenzo Ghiberti executed that which is now in its place, when it was removed and fixed opposite to the Misericordia, where it is still to be seen. I will not omit to mention, that Andrea was assisted in the construction of this door by his son Nino, who afterwards became a much better master than his father. The final completion of this work took place in 1339,[18] when it was not only furbished and polished, but also gilded in fire, the casting of the metal being accomplished, as is reported, by certain Venetian masters, who were very expert in the founding of metals. Records on this subject are to be found in the books belonging to the guild of the merchants of the Calimala, who were wardens of the works for the church of San Giovanni. While this door was in progress, Andrea not only completed the works which we have named above, but many others also, more particularly the model for the church of San Giovanni at Pistoja, which was founded in the year 1337.[19] It was in the same year, and on the twenty-fifth day of January, that the relics of the Beato Atto, formerly bishop of the city, were discovered while digging the foundations of the church. This prelate had been entombed in that place one hundred and thirty-seven years previously. The architecture of the church is round,[20] and was tolerably good for those times. There is a marble tomb in the principal church of Pistoja, which is also by Andrea. The sarcophagus is covered with small figures, with others of larger size above it: the body reposing in it is that of Messer Cino d'Angibolgi, doctor of laws, and one of the famous literati of his time, as we find proved by Messer Francesco Petrarca, in his sonnet beginning—

"Weep, ladies fair, and love may with you weep,"

[18] In 1336 rather. [19] In 1300.
[20] Octagonal.

and also in the fourth chapter of the "Triumph of Love," where he says—

> "See Cino of Pistoja—who, from Guy,
> Of fair Arezzo, claims the foremost place," etc.

The portrait of this Messer Cino, from the hand of Andrea Pisano, is placed on the tomb, where he is depicted teaching a number of his scholars, who stand around him in attitudes of so much grace and beauty, that in his day they must have been thought something wonderful, even though they should not be greatly admired in ours.[21]

Gualtieri, duke of Athens, and tyrant of Florence, also profited by the services of Andrea for his architectural undertakings, causing him to enlarge the piazza, and, desiring to render himself more secure in his palace, he had a very strong grating of iron bars placed on all the windows of the first floor (where the hall of the Two Hundred now is). The same duke erected the walls in rustic masonry which were added to the palace, on the side opposite to San Scheraggio;* and in the thickness of the wall he made a secret stair, by which he could ascend or descend without being observed. In this wall he also placed a large door, which now serves as the entrance to the custom-house, and over the door he carved his arms, all which was completed after the designs and by the advice of Andrea. These arms were subsequently effaced by the Council of Twelve, those magistrates desiring to destroy all remembrance of the duke. The form of a lion rampant, with double tail, may nevertheless be still discerned by whosoever will examine the shield carefully. Andrea Pisano erected many towers around the circuit of the city walls for the same duke, and not only commenced the magnificent church† of San

* San Piero Scheraggio, the old basilica which once occupied the site of the Uffizi.

† A mistranslation: for church read gate (*porta*) of San Friano.

[21] According to Perkins this tomb was designed by an unknown Sienese artist and Cellino di Nese was called to Pistoja in 1334 to sculpture it and complete the Baptistery.

Friano,[22] which he brought to the state in which we now see it, but also raised the walls for the vestibule of all the gates of the city, with the smaller gates which were opened for the convenience of the people. The duke further desired to construct a fortress on the side of San Giorgio, and Andrea prepared the model for it; but this was not used, the work never having been commenced, because the duke was driven from the city in the year 1343. The design of the Duke Gualtieri to give the palace the form of a strong fortress, was nevertheless effected in great part, since he made such important additions to the buildings previously constructed, that the edifice then received its present form; the houses of the Filipetri, with the towers and houses of the Amidei and the Mancini, and those of the Bellalberti, being comprised within the circuit of the palace walls. Gualtieri, moreover, not having all the materials required for the vast fabric which he had thus commenced, with its immense walls and barbicans, at hand, delayed the progress of the Ponte Vecchio, which the city was constructing with all possible speed, as a work of necessity, by taking possession of the hewn stones and wood-work prepared for the bridge, without any consideration for the public convenience. In none of his undertakings would the duke employ Taddeo Gaddi, because that master was a Florentine, although he was not inferior as an architect, perhaps, to Andrea the Pisan, whose services Gualtieri constantly preferred. The duke had also formed the design of demolishing the church of Santa Cecilia, to the end that he might be able to see the Strada Romana and the Mercato Nuovo from his palace. He meant to destroy San Scheraggio likewise for his own purposes, but had not obtained permission from the pope to do so, when he was expelled, as we have said, by the fury of the people.

By his honourable labours of many years, Andrea Pisano acquired not only rich rewards, but the right of citizenship, which was awarded to him by the Signoria of Florence

[22] In 1332.

who further conferred on him magisterial and other offices in their city.[23] His works, also, were held in honour, both while he lived and after his death, none being found to surpass him in ability until the times of Niccolo of Arezzo, Jacopo della Quercia of Siena, Donatello, Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, by whom sculpture and other works of art were executed in a manner that taught the nations the extent of the errors in which they had lived until those masters appeared. For by these the art which had for long years been hidden or but imperfectly comprehended, was fully recovered and restored. The period of Andrea's labours was about the year of our salvation 1340.

This master left many disciples: among others the Pisan Tommaso, who was an architect and sculptor. He finished the Campo Santo, and completed the building of the campanile,—of the upper part that is, wherein are the bells. Tommaso is believed to have been a son of Andrea,[24] being so inscribed on the picture of the high altar in the church of San Francesco di Pisa, where are a Virgin and other saints, carved by him in mezzo-rilievo, while he has placed his name and that of his father beneath these figures.

Andrea also left a son, called Nino, who devoted himself to sculpture. His first work was executed in Santa Maria Novella at Florence, where he finished a Madonna in marble, commenced by his father,[25] and which is now within the side door, near the chapel of the Minerbetti. From Florence Nino proceeded to Pisa, where he executed a half-figure of the Virgin in marble, at the Spina: she is suckling the Child, who is wrapped in fine linen. This Madonna, Messer Jacopo Corbini caused to be surrounded, in 1522, with marble ornaments, and had still finer and more magnificent em-

[23] Milanesi states that there is no record of his having been made a citizen of Florence.

[24] Documents of the year 1368, discovered by Professor Bonaini, confirm this belief.

[25] Still in a niche under the organ.

bellishments[26] made for a whole-length figure of the Virgin, also in marble, and by this same Nino. The mother is here seen to offer a rose to her son, in an attitude of much grace, while the child takes it with infantine sweetness; and the whole work is so beautiful, that one may truly affirm Nino to have here deprived the stone of its hardness, and imparted to it the lustre, polish, and vitality of flesh. This figure stands between a San Giovanni and a San Pietro, both in marble, the latter a portrait of Andrea, taken from the life. Nino also executed two marble statues for one of the altars of St. Catherine at Pisa. They represent the Virgin, with the Angel of the Annunciation, and, like his other works, are so carefully done, that they may justly be described as the best that those times had produced. On the pedestal of this Madonna, Nino carved the following words:—"The first day of February 1370"; and beneath the angel he inscribed as follows:—"Nino, the son of Andrea of Pisa, made this figure."[27] He executed other works, in Naples as well as in Pisa, but of these it is not needful to speak here.

[26] The Madonna della Rosa is still in place. Girolamo d' Jacopo da Carrara sculptured the border-ornaments in 1521.

[27] This inscription postdates the statues. Maestro Nino had died before 1370, as is proved by a decree of the *Anziani* of Siena, wherein, on the 8th of December, 1368, a payment of twenty golden florins is voted to Andrea, son of the *late* Nino, sculptor. The statues described above were colored, the hair and eyes were tinted, and the robes picked out with gold; they are still in the church.

Nino Pisano died about 1357. Among his works are a Madonna in S. M. Novella of Florence, one in the Museo d'Arezzo, and the Saltarelli monument in Pisa. M. Marcel Reymond (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893) attributes to him two Annunciations, one in the museum of Lyons and one in the Louvre, and an angel in the Hotel Cluny at Paris, and says of him, that if Nino sculptured the scenes from Genesis on the *façade* of the Orvietan cathedral, he can understand why Vasari called him the best sculptor of his time. M. Reymond, in his remarks upon the fourteenth-century sculpture, asserts that after Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II. the most grandiose and magnificent tomb in Italy is that of King Robert of Naples, by the brothers Baccio and Giovanni, of Florence (contract given in 1340), but thinks the architecture and conception superior to the sculptural execution.

Andrea died in the year 1345,[28] aged seventy-five years, and was buried by Nino in Santa Maria del Fiore, with the following epitaph :—

"Ingenti Andreas jacit hic Pisanus in urna
Marmore qui potuit spirantes ducere vultus
Et simulacra Deum mediis imponere templis
Ex aere, ex auro candenti, et pulcro elephanto."[29, 30]

[28] He died at the age of seventy-eight in 1348, and was buried in the nave of the cathedral. His monumental slab has disappeared.

[29] The marking quality of Andrea, which distinguished him from his predecessors, Niccola and Giovanni, of Pisa, is his simplicity in composition, and it is by this quality especially that he stands among the four great sculptors of the First or Pre-renaissance.

His draperies do not conceal, but rather emphasize his figures by their broad folds; he uses few figures in his subjects and the groups of his bronze panels of the gates are noble in their quiet directness. As for the allegorical figures in the lower panels, though all delicacy of surface has been rubbed away, they are in their admirable proportions an immense technical advance upon the works of the other Pisani, and are in their perfect decorative adaptability some of the most satisfactory reliefs that the Renaissance has produced. Symonds in his Fine Arts has reminded us that there will always be students to whom the "self-restraint and delicacy" of Andrea will appeal more strongly than do the relatively florid works of Ghiberti.

[30] The principal pupils of Andrea Pisano were Orgagna and Balduccio da Pisa.

AMBRUOGIO LORENZETTI, SIENESE PAINTER.[1]

[Born ——; died about 1338.]

IF the debt which the richly-endowed artist owes to Nature be a large one—as it doubtless is—still greater is the amount of gratitude due from us to him, seeing that by his cares our cities are enriched with noble erections for use and beauty, as well as with the graceful embellishment of painting, and other ornaments. It is true that artists most commonly acquire fame and riches for themselves by their labours, as did Ambruogio Lorenzetti, a painter of Siena. This master displayed considerable force of invention, with great skill in grouping his figures, of which we find proof in the church of the Friars-Minors in Siena, where there is a historical painting in the cloister, very gracefully executed by his hand. The subject of this work is a youth who becomes a monk, and proceeds with others to the court of the Soldan, where they are scourged, condemned to the gallows, hanged on a tree, and finally decapitated, while a horrible tempest is prevailing. In this picture, Lorenzetti has represented the turmoil of the elements, with the fury of the rain and wind (against which his figures are struggling), with infinite ability. And from him it is that later masters first acquired the mode of depicting circumstances of this kind, for his portraiture of which, as a thing not previously attempted, he deserves high

[1] He signed his pictures Ambrosius Laurentii, but in contemporaneous records was usually called Ambruogio Lorenzetti or del Lorenzetto; his brother was Pietro Lorenzetti, erroneously called Laurati by Vasari. Milanesi's researches in the archives of Siena are especially valuable to students of Sienese art and all notes to this life when not otherwise accredited are taken from his notes or commentary.

commendation.[2] Ambruogio was a practiced fresco painter, as well as an excellent colourist in distemper; his works in the latter are executed with extreme facility, and evince great talent. This may still be seen in the pictures by this master in the small hospital called Mona Agnesa in Siena, where he painted a historical work of which the composition displayed new qualities that were greatly admired.[3] On one of the walls of the great hospital[4] also, he painted the Nativity of the Virgin in fresco, with a second picture, representing her approaching the Temple with others of her age. The chapter-house of the Augustine friars, in the same city, was also enriched by Lorenzetti, who painted the Apostles on the ceiling of that edifice. Each holds a tablet, whereon that part of the Creed composed by the said Apostle is written. Beneath each figure is a small representation, which exhibits in painting the subject written on the scrolls above. Near these works, and on the principal façade, are three stories; one of them is from the life of St. Catharine the Martyr, and represents her holding a disputation with the tyrant in the Temple; another is the Crucifixion of Christ, with the Thieves on the Cross, and the Maries beneath, the latter supporting the Virgin, who has fainted,—all which display much grace and good manner.[5] In one of the large halls of the palace of the Signoria in Siena, Ambruogio represented the War of Asinalunga,[6] with the

[2] Ambruogio's earliest works, in S. Francesco of Siena, were executed, according to Tizio, in 1331. Two fragments of a fresco still remain in the second chapel of the church. Of all Ambruogio's works these frescoes of S. Francesco were most admired by Ghiberti in his Commentary.

[3] This fresco, which no longer exists, was on the *façade* of the little church (of San Bernardino) contiguous to the hospital of SS. Gregorio e Niccolo in Sasso; called of Mona Agnese because founded by Agnes of Arezzo in 1278. The Presentation at the Temple, painted in 1342, is now in the Florentine Academy.

[4] These pictures, painted with the aid of his brother Pietro in 1335, were destroyed in 1720.

[5] Destroyed by changes in the church. Vestiges of frescoes with half-length figures of Christ, San Lorenzo, and Santa Caterina remain in the vaulting of a room next the corridor which leads to the Collegio Tolomei.

[6] *Guerra d'Asinalunga*, that is to say, the victory gained by Siena over the

various events of the peace which succeeded; in this work he introduced a map, which for those times was perfect.[7] In the same palace, Lorenzetti executed eight historical pieces in *terra verde*, most exquisitely finished.[8] He is also said to have sent a picture in distemper to Volterra, in which city it was very highly esteemed; and at Massa, where he painted a chapel in fresco, and a picture in distemper, in company with other artists, he gave further proof of his judgment, and of the genius for the pictorial arts with which he had been endowed.[9] In Orvieto, moreover, Lorenzetti painted in fresco the principal chapel of the church of Santa Maria, and afterwards proceeding to Florence, he executed a picture in one of the chapels [10] of the church of San Procolo, with stories in small figures from the life of San Nicolo, at the request of some of his friends, who were anxious to become acquainted with his modes of proceeding. The practiced dexterity of Ambruogio enabled him to complete these works in so short a time, that his name and reputation were greatly extended thereby. In consequence of this work, on the predella of which he painted his own portrait,[11] Lorenzetti was invited to Cortona in the year 1335, by order of bishop Ubertini, then lord of that city.[12] Here he painted several pictures in the church

Compagnia del Cappello in 1303. The fresco was painted in the Hall of the *Balestre* or *Mappamondo*, but is of doubtful authenticity (as a work of Ambruogio).

[7] The *Mappamondo* has disappeared.

[8] Painted 1345, and long since lost. A picture of the Annunciation painted for the same place in 1344 is now in the Belle Arti at Siena.

[9] Nothing is known of the picture for Volterra. Milanesi records the Massa frescoes as having been destroyed, but quotes Gaye's assertion that the picture (*Tavola*) made for Massa exists still in the Cancelleria and represents a Madonna enthroned with Saints and Angels.

[10] Nothing is known of these pictures.

[11] Two of the *predella* panels exist in the Academy at Florence; they represent scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Bari. They were formerly in the Badia. All of the remaining parts of the altar-piece are lost, including the portrait of Lorenzetti.

[12] Nothing remains of these frescoes. Buoso, bishop of Arezzo, held no lordship in Cortona, but a certain Ranieri degli Ubertini, and contemporane-

of Santa Margarita, which had been erected on the summit of the mountain a short time previously by the monks of St. Francis. The interior walls, and one half of the ceiling, were so carefully done, that although this work is now almost destroyed by time, yet there is great animation still to be perceived in the figures through all its parts, and we cannot but admit that it has been deservedly praised. These paintings being completed, Ambruogio returned to Siena, where he lived honourably for the remainder of his days, and was universally admired, not only as an excellent master in painting, but also because, having applied himself to science and letters in his youth, these formed a pleasant and useful accompaniment to his pictorial studies, and so richly adorned his whole life, that they contributed, no less than his gifts as a painter, to render him beloved and respected. Lorenzetti had at all times frequented the society of learned and virtuous men, and was permitted to take part in the cares of governing his native city, to his no small honour and profit.[13] The life of Ambruogio was in all respects praiseworthy, and rather that of a gentleman and philosopher than of an artist; and, what more than all perhaps gives proof of wisdom in a man, he constantly maintained the equanimity of mind which disposed him to content himself with such events as time and the world presented, so that he supported the good and evil apportioned to him by fortune with a calm and equal mind. And of a truth, it would not be possible that words should sufficiently declare the extent to which modesty, and an irreproachable walk in life, add honour to all the arts, but particularly to those which derive their birth from the intelligence of noble and exalted minds; wherefore every artist should be careful to render himself no less acceptable for the purity of his conduct than for his excellence in art.

Finally, and towards the end of his life, Ambruogio

ous with Buoso, was bishop of Cortona and perhaps called Lorenzetti to that city.

[13] There is no proof of this to be found in the public records.

painted a picture at Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri,[14] which greatly increased his fame; and a short time after having completed this work, he passed happily, and in the spirit of Christian love, to a better life, in the eighty-third year of his age. His works date about the year 1340.[15]

The portrait of Ambruogio, from his own hand,[16] may be seen, as we have already said, on the base of his picture at

[14] The Monte Oliveto picture has disappeared.

[15] Lorenzetti's name first appears in 1323, and for this reason, and because also of his advanced manner, Milanesi inclines to believe that he was born nearly with the fourteenth century. In the heading to his life of Ambruogio, the date of his death is *circa* 1338, but note 1, p. 525, Vol. I., suggests the plague of 1348 as the probable cause of his decease.

[16] The earliest work of Pietro di Lorenzo (Pietro Laurati, Pietro Lorenzetti) is, according to Woltmann and Woermann, a Madonna enthroned with Saints; it is in Sant' Ansano, a church near Siena, and is dated 1329. A Madonna with Angels, dated 1340, is in the Uffizi, and his finest work is a Birth of the Virgin, dated 1342, in the sacristy of the Duomo of Siena; "the same subject has hardly found another such satisfactory rendering in the same age." The style of Ambruogio and Pietro Lorenzetti is a more masculine and vigorous one than can be found in the other masters of the Sienese School, approaching the robust dignity of Giotto more than does the grave but sweeter dignity of Martini. Among the *trecentisti* Ambruogio Lorenzetti is the painter of mysteries or moralities upon a vast scale; he is the allegorist and the preacher. He paints, too, with a robustness (lent, perhaps, in part by his subject) which makes him more akin to the *Giotteschi* than are the other Sienese, and his great fresco in the Hall of Peace of the *Palazzo Pubblico* of Siena is hardly eclipsed in celebrity by any painted allegory. It embraces three distinct subjects: I. The Commune of Siena, a colossal man enthroned among virtues theological and profane. II. Good Government, in which a series of *genre* pictures represent the peaceful life of a well-ruled city. III. Bad Government, in which the benevolent Colossus is replaced by a monster, and the virtues by Fraud, Cruelty, Discord, Terror, and War. Among the symbolical figures of the first composition is the famous Peace which Symonds conjectured might be copied from the antique statue of Venus which once stood over the public fountain. Lorenzetti had made a drawing of it which Ghiberti admired many years afterwards.

The whole composition is a painted treatise and was probably planned by some student of Aristotle or of Dante's *De Monarchia*. It is interesting to the art student because the didactic purpose does not exclude beauty of a noble and monumental type, and because it is one of the best examples of the civic spirit as manifested in municipal decoration.

M. Lafenestre, *La Peinture Italienne*, Vol. I., says that Pietro Lorenzetti was the first to substitute the rosy colouring of real flesh to the greenish shadows of the Byzantines. He accredits the scenes from the lives of Hermits in the

St. Procolo, bearing a cap on the head. His capabilities in drawing may be judged from my book, wherein are certain designs of tolerable merit by his hand.

Pisan Campo Santo to him and quotes Paul Mantz's assertion that the "contemplative life" in that series deserves a place in the history of landscape.

Förster, in his *Gesch. der Ital. Malerei*, Vol. II., p. 382, disputes the authorship of Pietro in these frescoes. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe to Pietro certain frescoes in the south transept of San Francesco at Assisi (lower church) which are by Vasari given to Cavallini.

SIMONE MARTINI AND LIPPO MEMMI,[1] SIENNESE PAINTERS

(Born 1285?; died 1344)—(born ——; died 1357?)

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MOST truly may those men be called happy who are by nature disposed to the cultivation of the arts, for not only may they derive great honour and profit therefrom in their lives, but what is more important, they secure never-dying fame. Still more fortunate are they who to such dispositions add a character and manners calculated to render them acceptable to all men; but happy above all men is he (I am here alluding to artists) who, with natural talent cultivated by education, with a noble disposition and refinement of manners, possesses also the advantage of living at the same time with any renowned author, from whom, in return for some little portrait, or similar expression of artistic courtesy, he obtains the reward of being once mentioned in his writings, thereby securing to himself eternal honour and fame. This advantage is above all to be desired by those who practice the arts of design, and most especially by the painter, since his work, lying simply on the surface, and being dependent on colours which cannot endure, may not hope for that perpetuity which is secured to the sculptor by his bronze and marble, as it is to the architect by the durability of his erections. Great, then, was the good fortune of Simon, in that he lived at the same time with Messer Francesco Petrarca, and that he further chanced to meet that love-devoted poet at the court of Avignon. For Petrarch, being desirous of possessing the

[1] Simone Martini and Lippo di Memmo di Filipuccio, called Lippo Memmi.

image of his Madonna Laura[2] from the hand of Maestro Simon, and having received it, beautiful as he could imagine or desire,[3] at once immortalized the memory of the painter in two sonnets, one of which begins thus :—

"Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso
Con gli altri, che ebber fama di quell' arte";

and the second commences as follows :—

"Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto,
Ch' a mio nome gli pose in man lo stile."

For it may be truly said that these Sonnets, and the mention made of the painter in the fifth book of Petrarch's familiar letters,[4] and in the epistle beginning "Non sum nescius," have given more lustre to the poor life of Maestro Simon, than it has received, or ever will receive, from all his works.[5] These are indeed rapidly perishing, and must finally be lost, while the works of Petrarch shall survive to all eternity. Simon Memmi of Siena was nevertheless an excellent painter, highly distinguished in his day, and greatly esteemed at the court of the Pope. In so much that, after the death of his master Giotto, whom he had accompanied to Rome, at the time when the latter executed

[2] The portrait is lost. The miniature called Laura di Noves in the Laurentian Library at Florence was evidently painted in the fifteenth century. Rio, in *L'Art Chrétien*, states that there was formerly a portrait of Laura in the Palace of Fontainebleau, and Aretino boasted of possessing a very old one.

[3] It cannot be claimed that in the fourteenth century any real portrait painting in the modern sense of the word existed. Modern portraiture began in the fifteenth century.

[4] Certain figures in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence are pointed out as portraits of Petrarch and Laura. There is no foundation for this attribution.

[5] As Dante stood sponsor to Cimabue and Giotto in his verse, so Petrarch stood sponsor to Giotto again, and to Simone as "the two great painters," but the best credentials of either of these are their frescoes of Assisi and Santa Croce and the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. No travellers to these places need either Dante or Petrarch to point out that Giotto of the Mugello or Simone of Siena was a great painter.

the Navicella,[6] in mosaic and other works, he attained high credit for his successful imitation of that artist's manner. This was more particularly exemplified in the execution of a Virgin in the portico of St. Peter, and in that of two figures, representing St. Peter and St. Paul, on the wall between the arches of the portico on the outer side, and near the bronze Pine.[7] Especial praise has been given to the portrait of a sacristan of St. Peter's, whom Simon has depicted in this work hurriedly kindling lamps before the saints, and the merit of the whole caused the artist to be summoned, with very pressing instances, to the court of Avignon,[8] where he produced so many good pictures, both in fresco and distemper, that his works justified the name by which he had been preceded. Having then returned to Siena in high estimation, and being much favoured on that account, he was appointed by the Signoria to paint one of the halls of their Palace in fresco, the subject being a Virgin, with many figures around her,[9] all which Simon executed admirably well, to his great honour and profit.

[6] He was only fourteen years old in 1298, when Giotto executed the *Navicella*, and he was evidently not the pupil of a Tuscan, but of a Sienese, possibly of Duccio.

[7] It is very doubtful if Simone ever worked in Rome. The pictures mentioned by Vasari have perished, except the Virgin, formerly in the portico, which is now in the *Grotte Scure* (chapel of the Madonna *della Bocciata*) of the Vatican, but is in too ruinous condition to tell whether it shows Simone's hand or not.

[8] Simon went to Avignon in 1339. Frescoes remain by him in the chapels of the Pope, and of the Holy Office in the Palace of the Popes. The frescoes in the great hall of the Consistory have been whitewashed, with the exception of some Sibyls and Prophets in the vaulting. For these frescoes see M. Müntz, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1885–6–7, and also in Vol. I. of *Les Monuments de La France*.

[9] Opposite this fresco at the other end of the hall is another by Simone, representing a knight horsed and armed. This is Guidoriccio of Fogliano, captain of the Sienese, at the siege of Monte Massi. The great *lunette* of the Madonna in the old council hall was originally painted by one Mino, in 1289, but Simone restored it and made it almost completely his, though critics affirm that some traces of the older hand may be seen in the faces of the Madonna and of the infant Jesus. (See the *Commentario* of Milanesi, Vol. III., pp. 563–566.)

And to prove that he could do no less in distemper than in fresco, he painted a picture[10] in the same Palace, which caused his being appointed to paint two others in the cathedral,[11] with a third picture of the Virgin holding the Child in her arms, over the door of the superintendent's room in that church.[12] The attitude of this figure is very beautiful, and the angels which support a standard and hover around the Virgin while they turn their eyes towards certain saints who stand below, display much grace, and infinitely increase the beauty of the work. When all this was completed Simon was invited to Florence by the General of the Augustines, where he painted the chapter-house of Santo Spirito,[13] evincing wonderful powers of invention and admirable judgment in his figures and horses, more particularly in representing the Crucifixion, a work of which every part has been executed with mature consideration and extreme grace of manner. In this painting the thieves on the cross are seen expiring, the soul of the repentant thief being joyfully borne to heaven by the angels, while that of the impenitent departs, accompanied by devils, and roughly dragged by these demons to the torments of hell. Equal powers of invention and similar judgment are evinced by this master in the attitudes of other angels standing around the crucifix, and their grief is eloquently expressed by their bitter weeping, but remarkable above all is the manner in which these spirits seem visibly to cleave the air, while, turning almost in a circle, they still sustain

[10] Now lost.

[11] Of the two pictures for the Duomo, the first, an altar-piece in various panels, painted in 1331, was eventually dispersed, and portions of it were seen by P. della Valle in the collection of a Roman lawyer, Signor Mariotti. The second picture was an Annunciation, and was signed by Simone and Lippo together; it is now in the Uffizi, where are also the side-panels with figures of *Sant' Ansano* and *Santa Giulitta*. (See Milanesi, Vol. I., p. 548, note 3.)

[12] It was destroyed by earthquake in 1798. In reality the fresco was on the front of the Petrucci Palace and not over the cathedral door.

[13] When the frescoes (since destroyed) of San Spirito were painted, Simone was absent from Italy. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, II., 85.

the movement of their flight. We should indeed have much more satisfactory proof of the excellence of Simon in that work, had it not, in addition to the injuries received from time, been further spoiled by the monks of the convent in the year 1560: for these fathers, unable to use the chapter-house on account of its humidity, constructed an arch to replace some worm-eaten wood-work, in doing which they ruined what little yet remained of this master's paintings. About the same time Simon painted a picture of the Virgin with St. Luke and other saints, in distemper; this is now in the chapel of the Gondi in Santa Maria Novella, and bears the name of the master.[14] He also painted three of the walls of the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella,[15] a very successful work. On the first wall, over the door of entrance, he depicted the Life of San Domenico; and on that which follows towards the church, he represented the Brethren of the Dominican order contending against the heretics, whom Simon has described under the form of wolves assaulting a flock of sheep, which is defended by numerous dogs, spotted with black and white; by these dogs the wolves are repulsed and slain. There are besides other heretics, who having been convinced in disputation with the faithful, confess their errors, and tear their books. The souls of these pass the gates of Paradise, within which are seen many small figures, employed in various occupations. In heaven, the glory of the Saints and of Jesus Christ is given to view, while all mundane pleasures and vain delights remain in the world below, being represented by human forms, but especially by those of women seated. Among these is Madonna Laura, the lady of Petrarch, taken from life; she is clothed in green, with a little flame of fire between her

[14] This picture is lost.

[15] Researches seem to prove that the chapter-house here mentioned, and now called chapel of the Spaniards, was not built till 1350, six years after Simone's death; but by whomsoever they may be, these frescoes form part of one of the most interesting decorative *ensembles* of the *trecento*. Milanesi attributes them, as well as the San Ranieri frescoes of the Campo Santo at Pisa, to Andrea da Firenze.

throat and breast. In this work, Simon also depicted the Church of Christ, guarded by the pope, the emperor, kings, cardinals, bishops, and all Christian princes, among whom is Messer Francesco Petrarca, beside a knight of Rhodes, and also drawn from the life. This portrait Simon added, to enhance by his works the fame of the writer who had made his own name immortal.[16] The Universal Church is represented by that of Santa Maria del Fiore, not as it is in the present day, but as Simon had drawn it from the model and design which the architect Arnolfo had left to be the guide of those who were to continue the work after him, but which models having been lost, as we have said before, by the carelessness of the intendants of Santa Maria del Fiore; we should now retain no memorial of that fabric, if Simon had not left it thus pourtrayed in this work. On the third wall, which is that where the altar stands, the artist represented the Crucifixion of Christ, who is first seen issuing from the city of Jerusalem bearing his Cross, and followed by a vast crowd of people. He proceeds to Mount Calvary, where, having arrived, he is seen raised on the Cross between the two thieves, with the different circumstances which form the usual accompaniment of this event. I refrain from minute description of the crowd of horses, the attendants casting lots on the vestments of Christ, the resurrection of the holy fathers, and all the other varied accessories, which resemble those of the best modern artists rather than such as are commonly found among the painters of Simon's day. He occupied the entire extent of the wall with his picture, and disposed the different events of his composition, with admirable judgment, on the declivity of a

[16] As the frescoes postdate Simone, these portraits of his contemporaries are apocryphal. But even authentic portraits of the *trecento* have little more than an archæological value. The epoch of the portrait in Italian art had not yet come. The painter might reproduce such obvious peculiarities as the cut of the hair and beard, the costume and headgear, and these peculiarities are valuable to the archæologist in all matters of identification and date, but the artist had not arrived at a point where he could individualise and characterise the features sufficiently to give a portrait any real artistic or historical value.

mountain, not dividing the several periods of his story by ornaments placed between each, as the other old masters did, and indeed as many moderns do, insomuch that the earth stands on the air four or five times in a picture, examples of which may be seen in the principal chapel of this same church of Santa Maria Novella, or in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where Simon himself, executing many works in fresco, was compelled against his judgment to make such divisions, since they had been made by the other masters who had laboured in that place, as for example by Giotto and Buonamico his master,[17] who had commenced their stories with this ill-considered method of arrangement. Less in error, then, than those by whose example he was misled, Simon adhered to their practice in the Campo Santo, where he painted a Virgin in fresco within the building and over the principal door;[18] she is borne to heaven by a choir of angels, who sound their instruments and sing with so much animation, that all the various gestures proper to musicians playing and singing are to be seen in these figures; some bend the ear to the sound, others open their mouths in divers forms, raise their eyes to heaven, inflate their throats, puff out their cheeks, exhibit, in short, all the movements usual among musicians. Beneath this Assumption, Simon painted stories from the life of St. Ranieri of Pisa, in three pictures.[19] The first represents the saint as a youth playing on the Psaltery, while young girls, with graceful forms and beautiful countenances, richly adorned

[17] This meaningless phrase, "Buonamico his master," does not occur in the first edition of the Vasari, and is considered by Milanesi to be an inadvertence of the author.

[18] The Virgin is probably neither by Simone Martini nor Lippo Memmi.

[19] Documents prove that not Simone, but one Andrea of Florence, was paid in 1377 for painting these famous frescoes, and that in 1380 a certain Barnabas was called from Genoa to finish them. Andrea Orgagna was dead at this time. Milanesi believes the Andrea of the document to be Andrea Bonajuti, matriculated as painter in Florence in 1343, and the Barnabas to be Barnabà da Modena. Woltmann and Woermann, History of Painting, I., p. 504, say that not Barnabà, but Antonio di Francesco, a Venetian (matriculated in Florence 1374), painted the three lower frescoes.

in the costume and head-dresses of that time, are dancing to the music. Ranieri, having been reproved for this sin, is next seen with his head bent down, tears on his cheeks, and his eyes red with weeping, in deep repentance of his error, whilst the Almighty appearing in the air, surrounded by celestial light, seems extending his pardon to the penitent. In the second picture, Ranieri, about to embark on shipboard, divides his possessions among the poor; he has a crowd of lame beggars, women, and children, around him, all eager to press forward, and displaying extreme animation both in imploring aid and returning thanks. The saint is again seen in the same picture receiving the garb of a pilgrim in the Temple, where he stands before an image of the Virgin, who, surrounded by angels, promises Ranieri that at Pisa he shall find repose in her bosom. All these figures are full of life, and the expression of the heads is beautiful. In the third picture, Simon has painted the saint returned after seven years' absence from beyond the seas. He has passed thrice forty days in the Holy Land, and is now standing in the choir attending Divine service; a number of singing boys are near; the saint is here tempted by the devil, but the fiend is driven away by the firm determination not to offend the laws of God, which is manifested in Ranieri, who is aided by a figure which Simon meant to represent Constancy.[20] The old adversary is thus compelled to depart, not only in confusion, but great fear; he covers his face with his hands, bows down his head, and steals off with shrinking form, exclaiming, as is seen by the writing which proceeds from his mouth, "I can do no more." Finally, Ranieri is once more seen in this picture, when, kneeling on Mount Tabor, he miraculously beholds Christ with Moses and Elias. These, and many other parts of this work, which I will not further describe, prove that Simon possessed great power of imagination, and was well versed in the best methods of composing his groups, in

[20] Here Vasari's memory fails him; there are no boys or female figures.

accordance with the manner of those days.[21] When these pictures were finished, the master painted two others in distemper for the same city. In these he was assisted by Lippo Memmi, his brother,[22] who had also helped him to paint the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, as well as other works. The latter artist did not attain to the excellence of Simon, but nevertheless imitated his manner to the best of his ability, and painted numerous frescoes in the church of Santa Croce at Florence.[23] He also executed the picture of the high altar in the church of Santa Caterina at Pisa for the preaching friars,[24] and in San Paolo Ripa d'Arno, besides many good frescoes.[25] Lippo Memmi painted the picture in distemper which is now on the high altar. The subject of this work is the Virgin, with St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, and other Saints, and on this Lippo placed his name. After finishing these pictures, Lippo executed one in distemper, for the brothers of St.

[21] His compositions are often confused when compared with those of Giotto.

[22] Brother-in-law, as in 1324 Simone Martini had married Giovanna, the sister of Lippo and daughter of Memmo di Filipuccio, who was also a painter. This accounts for Vasari's mistake in calling the brothers-in-law Simone and Lippo Memmi.

[23] These frescoes have perished. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle doubt whether Lippo ever painted in fresco at S. Croce, S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno, or S. Niccolò of Ancona, as no traces confirm the truth of Vasari's assertions. In the museum of Cologne, ten small half-length figures, one of a Christ, and one of an annunciatory angel, the two latter much repainted, are believed to be by Lippo Memmi.

[24] This important altar-piece in thirty-five compartments is not by Lippo Memmi, but is signed by Simone Martini. It is broken up and divided between the *scriptorium* of the seminary at Pisa and the Pisan Academy of Fine Arts. There is a large and important fresco signed by Lippo in the Communal Palace of San Gimignano; it recalls Simone's picture in the Sienese Palazzo Pubblico. An inscription states that Benozzo Gozzoli restored it, and he apparently added some figures. (See reproduction and description by Natale Baldoria, *Monumenti Artistici di San Gimignano*, *Arch. Stor.*, III., p. 38. Mr. Timothy Cole, the famous engraver, calls the single panels from the altar-piece at Pisa Simone's finest work, and says that he had not supposed the artist capable of such finished and delicate painting. Mr. Cole engraved a figure of Santa Caterina from one of these panels, in the Century Magazine, Vol. XXXVII., p. 542.

[25] The altar-piece is lost, and only slight vestiges of the frescoes remain.

Augustine, in St. Gimignano,[26] whereby he acquired so great a name that he was called on to send a picture to Arezzo, for the bishop Guido de' Tarlati; this work, which comprised three half-figures, is now in the chapel of St. Gregory,[27] in the episcopal church.

At the time when Simon Memmi was painting in Florence, there was a certain cousin of his, an ingenious architect, called Neroccio, who undertook to make the great bell of the commune of Florence ring, although no man had been able to make it sound for seventeen years. Twelve men were required to move it; but Neroccio balanced this great bell so nicely that two men then sufficed for that purpose, and being once set going, one man could keep it at its full sound, although it weighs more than six thousand pounds. For this, besides the honour, Neroccio received a reward of three hundred gold florins, which was a large sum in those days. But to return to our two Sienese painters, the Memmi. In addition to the works above described, Lippo executed a painting in distemper after the design of Simon, which was taken to Pistoja, and placed on the high altar of the church of San Francesco; this was considered a very fine work. Finally the two brothers[28] returned to Siena, their native city, when Simon commenced a work of vast extent; this was a picture[29] over the great gate of Camollia, representing the coronation of the Virgin, with an extraordinary number of figures, but he left it unfinished, being seized with heavy sickness, overcome by which, he departed from this life in the year 1345,[30] to the great grief of the whole city, and more especially of his brother Lippo, who gave him honourable interment in San Francesco.

Lippo Memmi afterwards completed several works that

[26] This altar-piece has disappeared. There are some panels in the sacristy of the church of Monte Oliveto which may have belonged to it.

[27] This picture is lost.

[28] Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi.

[29] Now destroyed. That the paintings on this gate were of later date is proved by Milanesi, *Doc. San.*, I., 259.

[30] At Avignon, 1344.

Simon had begun.[31] Among others was a Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, for the high altar of San Niccola in Ancona, in painting which Lippo imitated one that Simon had entirely completed for the chapter-house of Santo Spirito in Florence. And this is a work which merits a longer life than is likely to be granted to it, many fine attitudes and much animation being displayed in the figures both of soldiers and horses, the varied gestures of the former eloquently expressing their astonishment, and the perplexity of their doubts as to whether He whom they have just crucified were the Son of God[32] or not.

In the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi, Lippo Memmi likewise finished some figures which Simon had begun for the altar of St. Elizabeth,[33] which is close beside the door of entrance into the chapels. These were the Virgin with St. Louis king of France, and other saints, in all eight figures, half-lengths only,[34] but well drawn and extremely well coloured.[35] In the great refectory of the convent of San Francesco, moreover, and on the upper part of the walls, Simon had commenced several small pictures, as also a crucifix in the manner of a *tree of the Cross*, but all were left unfinished, or rather merely designed, being traced with the pencil in a red colour on the wall, as may still be seen, and this mode of proceeding was the only cartoon which our old masters (for the greater rapidity in the execution of their frescoes) were wont to make.[36] They first distributed the different portions of the work over the wall,

[31] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not consider it probable that Simone could have left so many unfinished works.

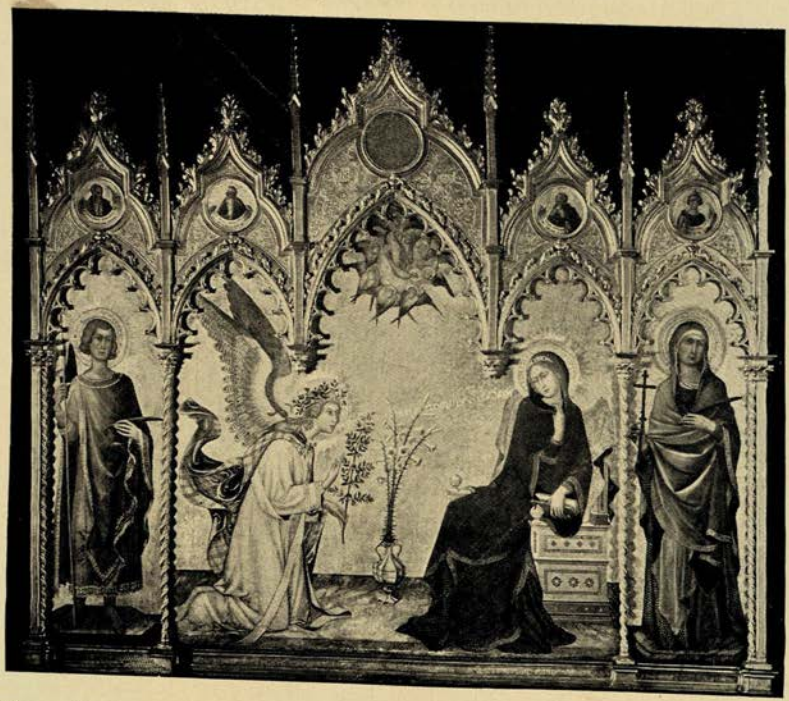
[32] These pictures are lost.

[33] Certain authors accredit all these figures to Simone; others give the Madonna and Santa Elisabetta to Lippo.

[34] These figures are particularly fine in their decorative impression and colour effect.

[35] Simone Martini is now accredited with the fine series of frescoes from the life of Saint Martin, also in the lower church of Assisi and among the best works of the *trecento*. These frescoes are ascribed by Vasari to Puccio Capanna.

[36] All have perished.



Simon Martini and Lippo Memmi.

The Annunciation.

tracing all they desired to do with the pencil, after a small design which served them as a guide, and enlarging each part to the proportions required, as they proceeded. And as the work here in question is seen to have been thus treated, so many others in various places have been executed in like manner, and when the colour in certain cases has scaled off, the red outlines are still discerned remaining on the wall. But to return to Lippo. This artist drew tolerably well, as may be seen in our book, where there is a hermit reading with the legs crossed, by his hand. He survived Simon twelve years, executing many paintings, for all parts of Italy, more particularly two pictures for the church of Santa Croce in Florence.[37] There is a considerable resemblance in the manner of these two brothers, but they may be distinguished by the circumstance that Simon inscribed his name at the foot of his works in this manner, "Simonis Memmi Senensis opus";[38] and Lippo, omitting his baptismal name, and caring little for the rudeness of his Latinity, as follows: "Opus Memmi de Senis me fecit." On the façade of the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, besides the portraits of Petrarch and Laura,[39] of which we have before spoken, Simon Memmi depicted those of Cimabue, of Lapo the architect, and of Arnolfo his son,[40] and finally that of himself. The pope who appears in this story, is the portrait of Benedict XI. of Treviso, a brother of the order of Preach-

[37] These works have perished. Lippo probably survived Simone thirteen years.

[38] Rumohr, in the *Ital. Forschungen*, II., p. 95, denies that Simone signed his works in this manner.

[39] Simone was in Avignon in 1339. The alleged portraits of Laura now existing are unauthentic. The one shown in the Laurentian Library wears the costume of the fifteenth century. Milanesi names the following pictures as signed by Simone, but not mentioned by Vasari: Orvieto, in San Domenico, a Madonna with Saints Peter, Dominick, Paul, and Mary Magdalen; Naples, in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Louis of Anjou crowning his brother Robert; Liverpool, Mary and Joseph reproving the Child Jesus for leaving them to dispute with the Doctors in the Temple; Antwerp, a triptych with the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Annunciation.

[40] Died in 1310.

ing Friars,[41] whose likeness had long before been brought to Simon by Giotto[42] his master, when the latter returned from the court of that pontiff, who held his state in Avignon. In the same picture is the portrait of Cardinal Niccola da Prato, which Simon has placed beside that of the pope, Cardinal Niccola being in Florence at the time, in the capacity of papal legate, as we are informed by Giovanni Villani in his history. On the tomb of Simon was placed the following epitaph: *Simoni Memmio pictorum omnium omnis ætatis celeberrimo, vixit ann.* 60, *mens.* 2, *d.* 3.

It will be seen by the specimens preserved in our book that Simon was not particularly excellent in design, but nature had well endowed him with inventive power, and he delighted in drawing from the life;[43, 44, 45] in this respect he was considered so much the best master of his time, that Signor Pandolfo Malatesti despatched him to Avignon for the purpose of painting Messer Francesco Petrarca,[46] at

[41] Benedict XII. rather, who was in the papal chair from 1334 to 1342, and under whom Simone and Lippo worked at Avignon.

[42] Ghiberti makes no mention of Simone being a pupil of Giotto.

[43] In a fresco at Assisi Simone painted the emperor in Roman costume crowned with laurel and seated on a throne, showing that the study of antiquity was cultivated even among the precursors of the Renaissance. See M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, p. 226.

[44] The pupils and associates of Simone Martini were Lippo Memmi and Fra Martino.

[45] We have no authentic portrait of Simone Martini, but Petrarch likens him, on the score of ugliness, to Giotto.

[46] Petrarch, the greatest man of his time, said, "I have known two excellent artists, Giotto of Florence and Simone of Siena." And these two famous painters may almost represent the male and female principle in the art of the fourteenth century; Giotto robust, dramatic, daring; Simone delicate, conservative, poetic; both of them intensely sincere; both, if judged superficially, very similar, because controlled by the conventionalities of the *trecento*. But compare one of the great frescoes of Giotto in the lower church of Assisi or the Arena at Padua with the *lunette* of Simone which fills one end of the main hall in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. Giotto, like a *trecento* Raphael or Michelangelo, has thrown aside all superfluous ornament; Simone's fresco, on the other hand, is almost an expanded miniature, yet it is grand and lovely at once and a very ideal *decoration*, intensely decorative to its every detail. So, too, in the Assisi lower church, his half-length saints are even more out of drawing than the least skilful of Giotto's, but they are delicate,

the request of whom Simon Memmi, so greatly to his own honour, then executed the portrait of Madonna Laura.

thoughtful, beautifully rich in colour, and completely decorative. His St. Martin series is very interesting and ranks among his best works, but in it he is greatly inferior to Giotto in simplicity and directness of composition. M. Lafenestre (*La Peinture Italienne*, Vol. I.) calls him an exquisite, delighting in jewels of price and embroidered stuffs, an archæologist, borrowing liberally from antique costume and accessories. He is the worthy Sienese counterpart of the Tuscan Giotto, standing to him in the fourteenth century something as Botticelli stands to Ghirlandajo in the fifteenth.

TADDEO GADDI,[1] FLORENTINE PAINTER

[Born about 1300; died 1366.]

TO reward talent largely, and to honour those who possess it, wherever they may be found, is, without doubt, an excellent, useful, and praiseworthy action; for there are many minds, which might remain dormant, if left without stimulus, but which, being excited by this allurement, put forth all their efforts, not only for the acquirement of their art, but to attain the utmost excellence therein; whereby they advance themselves to a useful and creditable station, doing honour to their country at the same time, and securing glory to their name, as well as riches and nobility to their descendants, who, from such beginnings, often rise to the highest and noblest condition, as happened to those of Taddeo Gaddi, in consequence of his works.

This Taddeo, son of Gaddo Gaddi, the Florentine, was the godson of Giotto; and, after the death of his father Gaddo, was the disciple of that master, with whom he continued twenty-four years. This we are told by Cennino di Drea Cennini, a painter of Colle di Valdelsa,[2] who further re-

[1] His name was Taddeo di Gaddo Gaddi.

[2] The following is Vasari's text from the Life of Agnolo Gaddi: "Cennino di Drea Cennini, of Colle di Valdelsa, likewise studied painting under Agnolo Gaddi, and being a devoted lover of his art, he wrote a book on the methods of painting in fresco, in distemper, and in every vehicle then known, with the modes of painting in miniature, and the manner in which gold is applied in all these varying methods. This book is now in the hands of Giuliano, a goldsmith of Siena, an excellent master and true friend of the arts. In the first part of Cennini's work, the author has treated of the nature of colours, whether minerals or earths, as he had himself been taught by his master, Agnolo; desiring, perhaps, as he does not seem to have succeeded in attaining to any great eminence in painting, at least to make himself acquainted with the nature of colours, the different glues, chalks, grounds for fresco, etc., with

lates, that on the death of Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi was considered the first in the art, for judgment, genius, and other artistic qualities, being superior in most of these to all his fellow-disciples. The first works of Taddeo were executed with a facility, which was received from nature, rather than acquired by art. They were performed in the church of Santa Croce, in Florence, and in the chapel of the sacristy, where, in company with others, (also disciples of the deceased Giotto,) he painted stories from the life of Santa Maria Maddalena; the figures of these works are very fine, and the vestments, after the fashion of those times, are also beautiful and curious.[8] In the chapel of the Baroncelli and Bandini, for which Giotto had painted a picture in

the properties of every kind of vehicle; he further discourses of such colours as are injurious, and to be guarded against in the mixture of colours, and in short of many other matters, concerning which nó more need be said here; all those details which were held to be rare and profound secrets in Cennini's day being perfectly well known to all artists in these our times. But I will not omit to remark, that Cennini makes no mention of certain earths, such as the dark terra rossa, nor of cinnabar and various greens—perhaps because they were not then in use; other colours were in like manner wanting to the painters of that age, as umber for example, yellow-lake (*giallo santo*), the smalts, both for oil and fresco painting, with certain yellows and greens, all which have been discovered at a later period. Cennini likewise treats of grinding colours in oil, to make red, azure, green, and other grounds of different kinds; he speaks of the mordants, used in the application of gold also, but not as applied to figures." Cennini's work is a technical treatise; he does not once allude to the theory of art or give rules for composition. Three manuscripts of Cennini's work exist, one in the Laurentian Library, Florence, a second in the Riccardiana in the same city, and a third in the Vatican. The best edition is that of Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi, Florence, 1859. There is an English translation by Mrs. Merrifield, London, 1844, from an edition annotated by Cavaliere Tambroni. The editor and the translator show that Vasari had not read Cennini's treatise when he wrote his lives. Cennini's work commences as follows: "Here begins the book on the art, made and composed by Cennino da Colle, in the reverence of God, and of the Virgin Mary, and of St. Eustachius, and of St. Francis and of St. John the Baptist, and of all the Saints of God, and in the reverence of Giotto, of Taddeo, and of Agnolo the master of Cennino, and for the utility and good and advantage of those who would attain perfection in the arts."

Cennini, born probably in 1350, finished his book in the debtors' prison of the Stinche in 1437.

[8] These are in the Cappella Rinuccini and are by Giovanni da Caversajo, called Giovanni da Milano.—See Milanesi.

distemper, Taddeo executed certain frescoes, representing stories from the Life of the Virgin; these he did entirely alone, and they were considered extremely beautiful.[4] He afterwards painted the story of Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, over the door of the same sacristy; but this work was nearly ruined, when Cosmo de' Medici, the elder, built the noviciate, the chapel and the parlour in front of the sacristy, a stone cornice having then been placed over the door.[5] In the same church Taddeo Gaddi painted the chapel of the Bellacci in fresco, as also that of St. Andrew, which is near to one of the three chapels decorated by Giotto himself. The subjects represented in the chapel of St. Andrew were, Christ calling Peter and Andrew from their Nets, with the Crucifixion of the latter Apostle: a work highly praised at the time, and which has been equally commended in our own days.[6] Over the side door, and near the burial-place of Carlo Marsupini of Arezzo, Taddeo executed another fresco, representing a dead Christ, with the Maries;[7] this was also greatly admired, as was a painting of St. Francis, likewise in fresco, placed above the crucifixion of Donato, and representing the saint at the moment when, appearing in the air, he is performing the miracle of restoring to life a boy, who has been killed by falling from a high terrace. In this painting the artist has introduced the portraits of his master, Giotto, of the poet Dante, of Guido Cavalcanti, and, as some say, of himself.[8] He executed many other figures, for different parts of the same church, all which are known to painters by their manner. For the confraternity of the church, Taddeo painted a most admirable Deposition from the Cross, in the oratory which stands at the corner of the Via del Crocifisso; and in the cloister of Santo Spirito he executed two stories in the arches, near the chapter-house. One of these repre-

[4] The authorship of Taddeo in these frescoes, doubted by some critics, is endorsed by Milanesi, and admitted by most writers. They were painted 1332–1338, and are very like Giotto's work, but are less concentrated in composition.

[5], [6], [7], [8] Since destroyed.

sents Judas betraying Christ, the other is a Last Supper. Over the door of the refectory, in the same convent, this master painted a Crucifixion, with several Saints; and these figures, compared with those of others who laboured in the same place, make it obvious that Taddeo was a faithful imitator of the manner of Giotto, which he always held in the highest estimation. In the church of San Stefano del Ponte Vecchio, Taddeo painted the high altar and predella, with infinite care.[9] He also executed a very good work in the oratory of San Michele in Orto, the subject a Dead Christ, mourned over by the Maries, and devoutly placed in the sepulchre by Nicodemus.[10] In the church of the Servites, he decorated the chapel of San Niccolo, which belongs to the Palagi, with stories from the life of that saint. In one of these he has proved himself well acquainted with the fury of a stormy sea, and the force of tempests, by the judicious and effective manner in which he has depicted a barque tossed on the waves: the mariners are casting forth their merchandise to lighten the ship, while S. Nicholas, appearing in the air, delivers them from their peril. This work having given great satisfaction, and been highly praised, caused the master to be invited to paint the chapel of the high altar in the same church; he there represented stories in fresco, from the Life of Our Lady; with a picture in distemper, also of the Virgin, surrounded by many Saints, and all painted with infinite animation. In the lower part of the same picture, he represented other stories, from the Life of the Virgin, in small figures, of which I need not make more particular mention, because the whole work was destroyed in the year 1467; when Ludovico, marquis of Mantua, built the tribune, which is still

[9] According to Milanesi the Deposition from the Cross, the pictures in the cloister of the Santo Spirito, and the altar of San Stefano have all been destroyed. There is an entombment in the Academy of Florence assigned to Taddeo Gaddi, but it is considered by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be by Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini.

[10] The picture from San Michele (now the oratory of San Carlo) is in the Florentine Academy.

there, with the choir for the monks, both erected after the design of Leon Battista Alberti. The picture was then transferred to the chapter-house of the convent,[11] in the refectory of which, and immediately over the seats, our artist painted a Last Supper, with a Crucifixion, and various figures of saints above it.[12] Having completed this work, the master was summoned to Pisa, where he painted the principal chapel of San Francesco, for Gherardo and Bonaccorso Gambacorti; the subject being, events from the life of the saint, with others from the lives of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas. These paintings were in fresco, and extremely well coloured. On the ceiling and façade of the same chapel, the confirmation of the Rule of St. Francis, by Pope Honorius, is depicted; and here Taddeo himself is portrayed from the life, wearing a sort of hood wrapped round his head.[13] At the foot of the painting are inscribed the following words:

"Magister Taddeus Gaddus de Florentia pinxit hanc historiam Sancti Francisci, et Sancti Andreæ, et Sancti Nicolai, anno Domini MCCCXLII, de mensi* Augusti."[14]

In the cloister of the same convent, Taddeo also painted the Virgin, with the child in her arms—a fresco of admirable colouring; and in the midst of the church, to the left of the spectator, is the bishop St. Louis, seated, while San Gherardo da Villamagna, who had been a brother of the order of St. Francis, seems recommending a certain Fra Bartolommeo, then guardian of the convent, to his protection. The figures of this work were all drawn from nature;

* The last word but one of this inscription is written *mense* in Milanesi's edition.

[11] These pictures from the church of the Servites have disappeared.

[12] The Last Supper and Crucifixion were repainted by Santi di Tito and again restored in modern times.

[13] Painted in 1342–44. Only the vaulting has escaped whitewashing; it represents the first founders of the religious orders.

[14] Grassi claims that a gigantic head of the Virgin preserved in the Campo Santo of Pisa is a fragment of this fresco.

they are, consequently, full of animation, and very graceful, with a simplicity of manner preferable in many respects to the style of Giotto himself. The expression of entreaty, of gladness, of grief, and other similar emotions, more particularly, were rendered with infinite truth, and the facility of effecting this is one from which great honour redounds to the painter.[15]

Having returned to Florence, Taddeo continued the works of Orsanmichele, for the commune of the city, and refounded the columns of the Loggia : for these he used stone, dressed and hewn, in place of the bricks of which they had previously been formed, but without altering the design, left by Arnolfo, who had directed that spacious magazines should be prepared above the Loggia, with vaults, for storing the reserves of grain laid up by the people and commune of Florence. And to the end that this work might be completed, the guild of Porta Santa Maria, to whom the charge of the fabric had been entrusted, commanded that the tolls of the corn-market, the tax of the piazza, and other imposts of very little importance, should be made over to the building. But, what was of more consequence, it was further ordained, and with great judgment, that each of the guilds of Florence should construct a column at its own charges, and should furthermore place a statue of its patron saint in a niche of the same. It was, moreover, decreed, that every year, on the festival of each saint, the syndics of the respective guilds should make a collection, standing each by his own column during the whole day, for that purpose, with standard elevated and ensigns displayed. Such offerings as were made to the Virgin herself, however, were still reserved for the relief of the suffering poor.

In the year 1333, a great inundation had destroyed the defences of the Rubaconte bridge, thrown down the castle of Altafronte, greatly injured the old bridge, leaving only two of its piers standing ; the same flood totally ruined the bridge of the Trinity, one pier only excepted, and that was miserably

[15] The convent was suppressed and the works have perhaps perished.

shattered. The bridge of Carraja was also much injured, and the flood-gates of Ognissanti broken down. In this state of things, the inhabitants dwelling beyond the Arno were reduced to the necessity of crossing to their homes in boats. It was, therefore, determined by those who then ruled the city, that these evils should be amended ; wherefore, they called on Taddeo Gaddi—his master, Giotto, being then at Milan—to prepare a model and design for the bridge, now called the Ponte Vecchio, charging him to construct it with all possible beauty as well as solidity. This, Taddeo at once proceeded to do ; he spared no cost and no labour, erecting those mighty piers and those magnificent arches, all of hewn stone, on which now stand the twenty-two shops placed on each side of the bridge. There are forty-four in all, and the commune derives a large revenue from them, their occupants paying 800 florins yearly for rent.[16] The width of the bridge, from one side to the other, is thirty-two braccia, that of the central road sixteen ; the shops are eight braccia wide. The cost of this fabric was 72,000 gold florins,* and if Taddeo merited and obtained praise for the work in that day, no less does he deserve it in the present, when he has, indeed, been more than ever commended; for, to say nothing of other floods, this bridge was not in the slightest degree affected by that which happened on the 13th of September, 1557, when the bridge of Santa Trinità was totally ruined ; that of Carraja had two of its arches destroyed, and the Rubaconte bridge was almost entirely washed away, much damage being also sustained by other parts of the city, from the same inundation. No man having judgment in these matters, can fail to be astonished that the Ponte Vecchio should have sustained the whole force of the waters, with that of the heavy beams and other wreck, brought against it by incessant inundations, and yet given no sign of yielding, but remained immovable through

* 60,000 (*sessanta mila*) gold florins according to the Milanesi edition.

[16] The shops still remain ; above them runs the corridor which Vasari built to connect the Palazzo Vecchio with the Palazzo Pitti.

all these assaults. About the same time, the bridge of Santa Trinità was also founded by Taddeo Gaddi, at the cost of 26,000 florins,* but not with similar good fortune.[17] This was completed in the year 1346 ; and I say, not with equal success, because, having been differently constructed from the Ponte Vecchio, it was entirely destroyed in the flood just alluded to, namely that of 1557. The stone wall which strengthens the bank near San Gregorio, was built under the direction of Taddeo, about the same time, and was defended by strong piles ; two piers of the bridge being taken to enlarge the platform on the side of the piazza de' Mozzi, and there this master constructed the mills still to be seen at that place. While all these works were proceeding, after the designs and under the direction of Taddeo, he did not neglect his paintings, and among other works he completed the Tribune of the old *Mercanzia,* where he depicted the six figures which represent the principal persons composing that court : they are looking at Truth, who is pourtrayed in the act of tearing out the tongue of Falsehood.[18] The former is covered with a transparent veil, while the latter is wrapped in black vestments ; both are females, and the whole work exhibits considerable force of invention. Beneath these figures are the following lines :—

"La pura Verità, per ubbidire
Alla Santa Giustizia che non tarda,
Cava la lingua alla falsa bugiarda."

And under the picture itself is written as follows :—

"Taddeo dipinse questo bel rigestro
Discepol fu di Giotto il buon maestro."

Taddeo was also employed at Arezzo, where he received a

* 20,000 (*ventimila*) florins in the Milanesi edition.

[17] The bridge of the Santa Trinità attributed to Taddeo, afterwards destroyed by flood, may be seen in the background of a fresco by Ghirlandajo in the Sassetti chapel of the church of La Trinità. The bridge was rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Ammanati.

[18] These frescoes have disappeared.

commission for several works in fresco, which he executed admirably, with the assistance of his pupil Giovanni da Milano. One of these paintings is still to be seen in the church belonging to the confraternity of Spirito Santo; it is on the wall near the high altar, the subject a Crucifixion. This work has been much celebrated for the excellence of the composition and method of treatment. The thieves are seen fastened to their crosses on each side; there are many horses in the picture, with certain figures, in whose countenances the rage of the Jews is most eloquently expressed. Others are drawing down the limbs of the Saviour, with a cord; offering the sponge, or otherwise occupied; as, for example, Longinus, who pierces the side of Jesus with his spear. There are, besides, the soldiers casting lots for the vestments; hope and fear are well expressed in the faces of all, as they watch the throwing of the dice: one awaiting his turn stands armed, and in an attitude of great restraint and uneasiness; but to the inconvenience of this, he is obviously insensible, or disregards it in the excitement of the game. A second, with raised eyebrows and eyes and mouth wide open, looks at the dice as if suspecting fraud, but the expression of his face plainly evinces the eagerness of his desire for victory. The third is about to throw the dice: he has spread out the garment on the ground, and regards it with a smile, as assured of winning, while his lifted arm quivers in the act of casting the lot. In addition to these paintings, there are others on the walls of the church, representing events from the life of St. John the Evangelist.[19] Works of Taddeo are also to be found in other buildings of Arezzo, and are at once perceived by good judges to be from his hand. In the episcopal church, moreover, behind the high altar, there are stories from the life of St. John the Baptist,[20] so admirably done, whether as regards design or execution, that one cannot but regard them with astonishment. In the church of

[19] All these frescoes have perished.

[20] The stories from the life of St. John the Baptist still remain, but in a very bad condition.

St. Augustine, in the chapel of St. Sebastian, near the sacristy, Taddeo painted the history of that martyr, as also a Disputation of Christ in the Temple; both so finely treated and so exquisitely finished, that none can behold the grace, beauty, and variety of excellence displayed in these works, without extreme admiration and surprise.[21]

In the church of the Sasso della Vernia, in Casentino, Taddeo Gaddi painted the chapel, in which St. Francis received the stigmata; he was assisted in the minor details of the picture by Jacopo di Casentino, who became the disciple of Taddeo, in consequence of that master's visit to Casentino, on the occasion here alluded to. Having completed this undertaking, Taddeo, accompanied by Giovanni, the Milanese, returned to Florence, in which city and its neighbourhood he executed many works of importance; and in process of time his gains became so large, that as he constantly accumulated these sums, and was a man of prudent and regular life, he laid the foundation of the wealth and high position afterwards enjoyed by his family.

The chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella was also painted by Taddeo Gaddi, who received the commission for this work from the prior, by whom he is said to have been furnished with the composition of the picture likewise. It is true, that as the work was very large, and as the chapter-house of Santo Spirito had just been finished and given to public view, by Simon Memmi, who had painted it to his great glory, at the time when the bridges were built; the prior conceived a wish to entrust Simon with one-half of the undertaking, whereupon he consulted Taddeo respecting the whole affair. He found the latter perfectly willing to accede to this arrangement, Taddeo having a great love for Simon, who had been his fellow-disciple under Giotto,[22] and had ever continued his valued friend and affectionate companion. Oh! truly noble spirits! Ye, who without envious emulation or ambition, did indeed regard each other with brotherly affection, rejoicing each in the honour and advantage of

[21] These works are lost.

[22] Simone was never a pupil of Giotto.

his friend, as in his own! The work, then, was thereupon divided—three of the walls being given to Simon, as we have related in his life; the fourth, with the vaulted ceiling, being reserved for Taddeo,[23] who divided the latter into four compartments, or sections, in accordance with the form of the ceiling. In the first of these divisions was represented the Resurrection of Christ, and in this painting the artist seems to have attempted to produce an emission of light from the splendour of the glorified body itself; this we perceive by the effects visible on a town and certain masses of rock, which form part of the accessories. But Taddeo did not pursue the idea with respect to the figures and other portions of the pictures, warned, perhaps, by the difficulties which he anticipated, and doubtful of his ability to conduct this project to a successful conclusion. In the second compartment, he represented Jesus delivering St. Peter from shipwreck: the apostles, who manage the boat in this picture, are certainly very beautiful; and among other things may be remarked, a figure standing on the shore and fishing with a line (a subject previously treated by Giotto in the Navicella of St. Peter's), in which there is extraordinary force and animation. In the third section of the ceiling is

[23] The chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, now called the Chapel of the Spaniards, presents one of the most curious, typical, and beautiful decorative *ensembles* of the fourteenth century. Milanesi does not believe that either Simone or Taddeo painted here, and several of the frescoes attributed to Simone are given by Milanesi to Andrea da Firenze, the artist of the San Ranieri series in the Campo Santo of Pisa. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle admit Taddeo as designer of some of the pictures, but claim that they were executed by other and inferior hands. The same writers say that if Andrea de Florentia painted the frescoes attributed to Simone in the Pisan Campo Santo he also executed those in the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in Santa Maria Novella. They characterise the frescoes as second-class works by pupils of the Sienese and Florentine schools, and as "unworthy of the high praise which has ever been given to them."

With all regard for the great erudition of the critics, it should be said that the beauty and importance of the Chapel of the Spaniards depend not upon its detail but upon its decorative effect as a whole; in this respect it is a remarkably complete exposition of what the fourteenth century painters understood as a decorative scheme for an entire chapel carried out at one time and for a well-defined purpose.

Taddeo Gaddi. Detail of Fresco.

the Ascension of Christ, and the fourth represents the descent of the Holy Spirit: in this picture are certain Jews, seeking to press through the doorway, who exhibit much beauty and variety of attitude.[24] On the wall beneath, the master has depicted the seven sciences, with their names, and an appropriate figure, or group of figures, under each. Grammar is portrayed in the form of a woman instructing a child, the writer Donatus being seated at her feet. After Grammar follows Rhetoric, and at her feet is a figure, which places two hands on different books, while it draws a third hand from beneath its mantle, and applies it to its mouth. Logic has a serpent, under a veil, in the hand, with Zeno Eleates, seated, reading at the feet. Arithmetic holds the tables of the Abbacus; Abraham, the inventor of which, is seated at her feet. Music has the appropriate instruments around her, with Tubalcain seated below; he is striking an anvil, with two hammers, and is listening intently to the sounds he is producing. Geometry has the square and compass, with Euclid beneath; and Astronomy, bearing the celestial globe in her hand, has Atlas under her feet. The remainder of the space is occupied by seven theological sciences, the figure beneath each representing that condition of men considered most appropriate—the pope, the emperor, kings, cardinals, dukes, bishops, marquises, and others. The face of the pope in this series is the portrait of Clement V. In the middle and highest place is St. Thomas Aquinas, who had been devoted to the study of all these sciences; he has certain heretics lying beneath his feet, as, for example, Arius, Sabellius, and Averroes; while around him are, Moses, Paul, John the Evangelist, and other figures; above whom are the three theological and four cardinal virtues, with many other figures and innumerable accessories, to all of which Taddeo has given infinite grace and truth of expres-

[24] The *Navicella*, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost are, according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, by Antonio Veneziano, from designs of Taddeo Gaddi, the Ascension is by another and inferior pupil. Milanesi readily agrees to the attribution to Andrea da Firenze of the frescoes formerly credited to Simone Martini.

sion. The whole work, indeed, may be considered the best, as to composition, that Taddeo has left us, and is in better preservation also than any other.

In the same church of Santa Maria Novella, this artist painted St. Jerome robed in the vestments of a cardinal, he having an especial devotion to that saint, and having chosen him for the protector of his house.[25] Accordingly, at a later period, Agnolo, son of Taddeo, after the death of his father, caused a tomb to be constructed for their common descendants beneath this painting; the covering of the tomb was of marble, with the arms of the Gaddi family. And for these descendants, St. Jerome the Cardinal, moved by the excellence of Taddeo, and by the merits of his posterity, has obtained from God the most honourable offices in the Church, such as bishoprics, cardinalates, and deaneries; they have besides been frequently clerks of the pontifical chamber, and received the most honoured orders of knighthood. All which descendants of Taddeo, of whatever degree, have constantly esteemed and favored the followers of the fine arts, more particularly those devoted to sculpture and painting, whom they have ever protected and aided to the utmost of their power.

At the age of fifty[26] Taddeo was attacked by violent fever, and departed from this life in the year 1350, leaving two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni, who both devoted themselves to painting, and whom he recommended to the care of Jacopo of Casentino and Giovanni of Milan, entreating the first to guard their morals and manners, but requiring the last to instruct them in matters of art. This Giovanni[27] executed many works after the death of Taddeo, among others a pict-

[25] This work has been destroyed.

[26] Milanesi states that documents show Taddeo to have been living in 1366, and another document of the end of the same year proves his death by mentioning his wife as a widow.

[27] Milanesi, Vol. I., p. 584, note 1, cites a picture signed by Giovanni da Milano, now in the Florentine Academy, and one in five compartments, now in the Communal Gallery of Prato; the latter picture was described by Milanesi in the *Calendario Pratese, anno V.*

ure which was placed in the church of Santa Croce, on the altar of San Gherardo da Villamagna, fourteen years after the death of Taddeo. The painting on the high altar of Ognissanti, where the brotherhood of the Umiliati have their seat, is likewise by his hand, and was considered extremely fine ; in Assisi also, Giovanni da Milano painted a picture for the tribune of the high altar, a crucifix namely, with the Virgin and Santa Clara. On the front and side walls of the apsis he painted stories from the life of Our Lady. He afterwards repaired to Milan, in which city he produced many works both in distemper and fresco, and where he ultimately died.

Of Taddeo, then, it may be observed that he constantly adhered to the manner of Giotto, but we cannot affirm that he greatly improved that manner, except in the colouring, to which he gave more freshness and animation than had been exhibited by Giotto ; the latter had so diligently laboured to overcome the difficulties and ameliorate the methods of proceeding in other departments of the art, that although he gave some attention to this also, yet the grace of attaining what he sought was not granted to him ; while Taddeo Gaddi, having seen by what means Giotto had been facilitated on one point or impeded on another, had profited by these instructions, and had afterwards found time to proceed in the way pointed out to him, and in some degree to ameliorate the practice of colouring.

Taddeo was buried by his sons Agnolo and Giovanni in the first cloister of the church of Santa Croce, and in the sepulchre which he had himself prepared for his father Gaddo ; he was honoured by many copies of verse written to his praise by the virtuosi of the time, and his memory was held in esteem as that of a man whose life had been highly meritorious, and who, to say nothing of his paintings, had conducted many useful buildings and other works of various kinds to a successful conclusion, to the great advantage and convenience of his native city. Among these works may be appropriately mentioned the campanile of Santa Maria

del Fiore, which he constructed with infinite care and diligence, after the design left by his master Giotto.[4] The masonry of this tower was so well executed, that better workmanship could not possibly be performed, nor would it be easy to construct a tower more nobly, whether as regards design, ornament, or cost.[5] The epitaph inscribed to the memory of Taddeo was as follows :

"Hoc uno dici poterat Florentia felix
Vivente : at certa est non potuisse mori."

[4] Milanesi elaborates in a long commentary his reasons for believing that Taddeo Gaddi did not build either Or San Michele or the bridges. Among these reasons, the strongest is that neither Ghiberti nor any contemporaneous or early author mentions Taddeo as an architect, far less attributes any special work to him. Milanesi suggested Francesco Talenti as architect of the lower loggia of Or San Michele, and his son Simone as builder of the upper story after the closing in of the lower arches in 1380. As for the Campanile of Giotto, Antonio Pucci, a contemporaneous chronicler, declares that Francesco Talenti had in 1351 carried up the tower to its last windows. Certain Dominican writers claim Fra Giovanni Campo, of their order, as architect of the Santa Trinità bridge, the construction of which was allotted by the Commune of Florence to four "*maestri di pietra*," among whom was Neri Fioravanti. The latter master together with Benci di Cione figures often in the architectural records of the time.

[5] Few artists have been so hardly treated by time, documentary evidence, and special criticism as Taddeo Gaddi. Time has destroyed many of his frescoes, documents and critics have taken away from him his title as architect of the Ponte Vecchio, the Ponte Santa Trinità, and the Campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore. He is famous, however, as the "favorite pupil of Giotto" and as a painter who imitates his master very closely, though he does not equal him in any single quality. With the *Giotteschi* it is difficult to single out individual characteristics ; relative attenuation of his figures was perhaps Taddeo's marking peculiarity. Mr. W. J. Stillman makes a plea for this artist's authorship in the frescoes of the Spanish chapel, and even in the Campanile there is nothing to absolutely disprove such authorship, but the balance of evidence seems against it. Indeed the glory of the *Giotteschi* was like a conventual property—it was rather the fame of the school than of the individual that was attained, and frescoes can be handed about from one to another accredited painter without much certainty or profit. The *Giotteschi* at last turned within a vicious circle, as Miss Violet Paget has remarked in an admirable essay in her "Euphorion." She points the fact that giotteseque art attained maturity almost immediately because so little was required of it. It was asked not to reproduce, but only to "suggest a character, a situation, a story." To the *Giottesco* a figure was reduced to be "the mere exponent of

The drawings of this master evince great boldness, as may be seen in our book, where we have the story which he painted for the chapel of Sant' Andrea in the church of Santa Croce at Florence, drawn by his hand.

an idea," to the man of the later Renaissance it was interesting as a "living organism" "an animate reality." Thus Giottesque art "reached its limits at once" and made no further progress. See, for a long and excellent discussion of the subject, Euphorion, by Vernon Lee (Miss Violet Paget).

ANDREA DI CIONE ORGAGNA, FLORENTINE PAINTER, SCULPTOR, AND ARCHITECT.[1]

[Born 1308; died 1368.]

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WE seldom find a man distinguishing himself in one branch of art, who cannot readily acquire the knowledge of others, more especially of those immediately connected with that to which his attention was first devoted, and which proceed, so to speak, from the same source. We have a case in point exhibited by the Florentine Orgagna,[2] who was at once a painter, sculptor, architect, and poet, as will hereafter appear. Born in Florence, Andrea commenced the study of sculpture[3] while still but a child, under Andrea Pisano, and to this he devoted himself earnestly for some years. Subsequently, being desirous of enriching his powers of invention and attaining distinction

[1] Baron Rumohr has shown Orgagna to be a contraction of Arcagnuolo (Andrea di Cione Arcagnuolo). His father's name is not found in the registry of the goldsmiths.

[2] Orgagna was also a poet. The MSS. of his sonnets are in the Magliabecchian and Strozzi libraries in Florence; one of these sonnets, with a translation by W. W. Story, is printed in Perkins' Tuscan Sculptors, III., 190.

[3] Andrea Orgagna's first profession was painting; he was enrolled as a painter in 1343, and as a sculptor in 1352, the year of Andrea Pisano's death. It is thus improbable that he studied long with the latter. Neri Fioravante, who became his surety, may also have been his master. See Milanesi.

in the composition of historical works, he gave the most diligent attention to the practice of drawing, and herein he was powerfully aided by Nature, which had destined him to universality of attainment. He next, as one effort usually leads to another, made attempts at painting in colours, both in fresco and distemper, wherein he succeeded so well, with the assistance of his brother Bernardo Orgagna, that he was taken by the latter to paint in his company in the church of Santa Maria Novella, where, in the principal chapel, which then belonged to the family of the Ricci, the brothers executed together the life of Our Lady.[4] When this work was finished it was considered very beautiful, but no long time after, by the neglect of those who had charge of the building, the roof was suffered to become unsound, when the painting was injured by the rains, and was then put into the state in which we now see it, as will be described in its proper place; let it suffice for the present to say that Domenico Ghirlandajo, by whom it was repainted, availed himself for the most part of Orgagna's composition. In the same church, the chapel of Strozzi, which is near to the door of the sacristy and belfry, was also decorated in fresco by Andrea in company with his brother Bernardo.[5] On one of the walls of this chapel, to which you ascend by a staircase of stone, the glory of Paradise was depicted with all the Saints, who are robed in the various vestments and head-dresses of that age; on the opposite wall was a representation of the Inferno, with its abysmal dungeons, circles

[4] These frescoes were destroyed and replaced by those of Ghirlandajo. This brother was named Leonardo and not Bernardo.

[5] There are two Strozzi chapels in Santa Maria Novella. Orgagna's work is in the north transept and is approached by a staircase. The Inferno, which is completely repainted, was, according to Ghiberti, executed by Leonardo, Orgagna's brother. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think it probable that these works were painted previous to 1354. The Last Judgment, which is the third subject, is much damaged, as is also the Paradise. The latter is one of the masterpieces of the fourteenth century, and shows a sense of beauty of human proportion not found in Giotto. "Orgagna," says M. Marcel Reymond, "like Donatello and Michelangelo, was graceful and elegant when young, poignant and dramatic when old."

of fire, and other features, described by Dante, a poet whom Andrea studied most carefully. In the church of the Servites, in the same city of Florence, this master painted the chapel of the Cresci family in fresco, and also in company with his brother Bernardo.[6] In San Piero Maggiore he executed a rather large picture, the Coronation of the Virgin,[7] with a second picture in San Romeo,[8] near the lateral door of the church.

In like manner, Andrea and his brother Bernardo together adorned the exterior façade of Sant' Apollinare in fresco, a work which they executed with such extraordinary care that the colours, although in that exposed situation, have remained in wonderful preservation even to this day, when they are still fresh and beautiful.[9] Moved by the fame of these works, which were highly praised, the men who at that time governed Pisa, caused Andrea to be summoned for the service of their Campo Santo, where he was appointed to paint a part of one of the walls, as had been already done by Giotto and Buffalmacco,[10] wherefore, setting himself earnestly to work, Andrea painted a Last Judgment, with various fantasies of his own invention, on that side of the building nearest to the duomo and beside the Crucifixion of Buffalmacco. In the angle on which he commenced his work, Orgagna represented the temporal nobility of every degree, surrounded by all the pleasures of this world; they are seated in the midst of a meadow, enamelled with flowers and beneath the shade of orange-trees, forming a delicious grove; frolicsome Cupids are sporting

[6] These works are lost.

[7] This picture is in the National Gallery, London. For a notice of it see A. H. Macmurdo in Century Guild Hobby Horse, II., 34.

[8] San Remigio rather. This picture has disappeared.

[9] These works have perished.

[10] Though Ghiberti makes no mention of Andrea's work at the Campo Santo, Vasari's statement has been accepted until very recently. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle decided in 1864 that the famous Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment were painted by the Siennese brothers, the Lorenzetti. Milanesi is inclined to credit them to Nardo (*i.e.*, Bernardo) Daddi. See Milanesi's Commentary to the Lives of Stefano Fiorentino and Ugolino of Siena.

among the branches of these trees, and hovering about the company beneath them, they joyously fly around the young girls of the party; all these figures thus seated are manifestly portraits, and were taken from the noble ladies and great personages of that day, but from the length of time that has now elapsed, they can no longer be recognized. The Cupids appear to be shooting their arrows at the young maidens, near whom are knights and nobles occupied in listening to music and songs, or in watching the dances of youths and maidens, who rejoice in the gladness of their youth and love. Among these nobles Orgagna has portrayed Castruccio, lord of Lucca; he is represented as a handsome youth, wearing a cap of azure blue, and holding a falcon on his hand, with other nobles of the same period near him, but whose names are not known. In short, he depicted with all possible diligence, in this first part of his work, whatever the world has to offer of most joyous and delightful, so far as the space would permit, and in accordance with the requirements of the art. On the other side of the same picture is a high mountain, on which Andrea has represented the life of those who, moved by repentance of their sins, and by desire for salvation, have retired from the world to that Solitude which is occupied by holy hermits, whose days are passed in the service of God, and who are pursuing various occupations, with most animated expression and truth of effect; some, reading or praying, seem wholly intent on a life of contemplation; others, labouring to gain their bread, are actively employed in different ways; one hermit is seen milking a goat, nor would it be possible to imagine a more truthful and animated figure than he presents. On the lower part of the hill is St. Macarius, calling the attention of three kings, who are riding forth to the chase, accompanied by their ladies, and followed by their train, to human misery, as exhibited in three monarchs lying dead, but not wholly decayed, within a sepulchre. The living potentates, in varied and beautiful attitudes, regard this spectacle with serious attention, and

one might almost say that they are reflecting with regret on their own liability shortly to become such as those they are looking upon. In one of these sovereigns, represented on horseback, Andrea has painted the likeness of Uguccione della Faggiuola of Arezzo; it is the figure who is holding his nose with one hand to avoid the odour of the dead and putrid bodies. In the centre of the picture is Death, robed in black, and flying through the air, the form is that of a woman, and she clearly intimates that by her scythe, the crowds lying dead on the earth beneath her have been deprived of life.[11] All states and conditions are there: rich and poor, young and old, men and women; the strong and blooming, together with the sick and faded, some of every age in short, and all in large numbers. And as Andrea knew that the Pisans were pleased with the invention of Buffalmacco, who caused the figures of Bruno, in San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, to speak, by making the words issue from their mouths, so he filled his whole work with such inscriptions, the greater part of which have been destroyed by time, and are no longer intelligible; among some still legible, are the following, uttered by old crippled men, whom he has made to exclaim as below:—

"Dacche prosperitade ci ha lasciati,
O morte, medicina d'ogni pena,
Deh vieni a darne ormai l'ultima cena"[12]—

[11] Sig. Igino Benvenuto Supino, *Arch Stor.*, VII., 21-40. *Il Trionfo della morte e il giudizio*, in a long and elaborate article decides that the more powerful spirit and technique of the authenticated Lorenzetti frescoes in Siena prove these brothers not to have been the authors of The Triumph and of The Judgment; in these he declares the technique to be rough and unskilful, while it is admirable in the fresco of the Anchorites.

Sig. Supino judges the two works in question (*Il Giudizio*, *Il Trionfo*) to be Pisan and the work of Francesco Traini. See the article for many reproductions and comparisons.

[12] Since nought of happiness to us remains,
Come, then, O Death!—the cure for every grief—
Give our last supper, and relief from pain.
Mrs. Foster's Notes.

with other words that cannot be deciphered, and verses in the old manner, composed, as I find, by Orgagna himself, who gave his attention to poetry also, and occasionally wrote a sonnet. Around these dead bodies devils are moving; they busily tear the souls of the departed from their mouths, and carry them off to certain fiery gulfs, seen at the summit of a very high mountain: opposite to these devils are angels, who approach others of the dead, which have manifestly belonged to the good, and in like manner, drawing the souls from their mouths, they bear them flying to Paradise. On a scroll, supported by two angels, the following verses are written:

"Ischermo di savere e di ricchezza
Di nobilitate ancora e di prodezza
Vale neente ai colpi di costei"—

with some other words which cannot easily be read.[13] Beneath this, and in the ornamental border surrounding the picture, are nine angels, who bear other inscriptions, on scrolls prepared for that purpose, some in Latin, some in Italian; they are placed thus on the border, because they would have spoiled the effect if suffered to stand in the midst of the picture, but their not being admitted to the body of the work seems to have displeased the author, by whom they were considered most beautiful, and so perhaps they were, according to the taste of that age. For our part, we omit the greater part of them, that we may not fatigue

[13] The whole inscription, including the "some other words," has been translated as follows:

Nor wisdom's aid, nor riches may avail,
Nor proud nobility, nor valour's arm,
To make the shelter from the stroke of death;
Nor shall thine arguments, O reader sage,
Have force to change her purpose: wherefore, turn
Thy wealth of thought to its best use—be thine
The watch unsleeping, ever well prepared,
That so she find thee not in mortal sin.

Mrs. Foster's Notes.

our readers with matter so far from amusing and so little to the purpose, and besides, as the larger portion of these inscriptions are cancelled, the remainder are nothing more than fragments. When that portion of the work was completed, Orgagna commenced the Last Judgment, wherein he represented Jesus Christ, seated on high amidst the clouds, and surrounded by the twelve Apostles, to judge the quick and the dead. The master has here displayed the different emotions proper to the occasion, with infinite art and most life-like truth. On the one side he has shown the grievous misery of the condemned, who weep bitterly as they are torn away by furious demons, who lead them to the infernal regions; and, on the other, are seen the joy and gladness of the good, whom a choir of angels, guided by the archangel Michael, are happily conducting towards the right hand, or the abode of the blessed. And now is it truly to be lamented, that for want of writers to record the names of all that crowd of persons represented—knights, nobles, and other men of distinction, all evidently drawn and figured from the life—scarcely any, or at least but very few, are known, or can be identified: it is true that the pope in this picture is said to be Innocent IV., the friend of Manfredi,[14] but of the other figures very few are authenticated. After completing this work, and also certain sculptures in marble, which he executed greatly to his honour in the church of the Madonna, on the Ponte Vecchio, Orgagna returned to Florence, leaving his brother Bernardo working alone in the Campo Santo, where he painted an Inferno, as it is described by Dante; and this work of Bernardo's having suffered great injury, was restored in the year 1530 by Sollazzino, a painter of our own day.[15] In Florence he continued his labours, painting a very large fresco on one of the walls

[14] The word *amico*, friend, is here undoubtedly a misprint for *nemico*, enemy, since Innocent was implacably hostile to Manfred and all his house.

[15] Giuliano di Giovanni di Castellano da Montelupo, called Il Sollazzino, born about 1470, died 1543, restored the Inferno, and in so doing varied the composition according to his own caprice. Milanesi, I. 600.

of the church of Santa Croce,[16] near the centre of the building. The subject of this work is that which he had previously treated in the Campo Santo of Pisa, in three similar divisions, but the story of St. Macarius, exhibiting the dead kings, and that of the hermits on the mountain, is omitted. Repeating all the other parts of the Pisan pictures, he executed the Florentine work with improved design and greater care than he had bestowed on that of Pisa, but pursuing a similar plan as to the composition, as well as in the manner, inscriptions, and other accessories; in this respect the only change was in the portraits from life, those of the Florentine picture portraying his friends on one side, whom he placed in Paradise, and his enemies on the other, who were stationed in the Inferno. Among the good may be distinguished the profile of Pope Clement VI., drawn from the life, with the triple-crown on his head: this pontiff was very favourable to the Florentines, and possessed many of Orgagna's paintings, which he prized greatly. During his pontificate, the jubilee of one hundred years was changed to one of fifty. Also among the blessed is Messer Dino del Garbo, an eminent physician of that time, attired as was then customary among physicians, and wearing a red cap lined with grey miniver; an angel holds him by the hand. There are, besides, other portraits, of which the originals are not known. Among the condemned, Orgagna has placed Guardi, sergeant of the commune of Florence, whom the devil drags along by a hook; he is distinguished by the

[16] This fresco is lost.

M. Marcel Reymond, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1893, noting that Orgagna was for a time head-master of the works of the cathedral of Orvieto, declares that the Life of Christ in the *bas-relief* of the *façade* postdates 1360 and was executed under direct influence of Orgagna. A broken mosaic representing the Birth of the Virgin, recently found in the Vatican, has the name of Andrea inscribed upon it, and it is probably his work executed for the Duomo of Orvieto. The mosaic at present in the *façade* seems to be an ancient copy from it. There has been controversy as to whether a design made for a pulpit in the Orvietan cathedral and now in the Opera del Duomo was by Andrea, but the evidence is against its authenticity.

three red lilies in his white cap, then the accustomed head-dress of sergeants, beadles, and others of that class. This Andrea did because Guardi had seized his goods for debt. The judge and notary who had acted against him on the same occasion were similarly represented by the painter among the sinners of the Inferno. Near Guardi is Cecco d'Ascoli,[17] a famous magician of that day; and a little above him, towards the centre of the painting, is a hypocritical friar, who issues from a tomb, and seeks furtively to mingle with the good, but is discovered by an angel, who drives him into the midst of the condemned.[18]

Andrea Orgagna had another brother, besides Bernardo, who was called Jacopo,[19] and who devoted himself to sculpture, but with no great success; for this brother Andrea sometimes made designs in relief, and while thus working in clay, he conceived an inclination to do something in marble, and to ascertain if he yet remembered the principles of that art, to which he had given his attention, as we have seen, in Pisa. He now, therefore, applied himself earnestly to this study, and profited so greatly that he afterwards availed himself of these labours, very much to his credit, as shall be related in the sequel. Andrea next devoted himself, with the utmost diligence, to the study of architecture, believing that he should find this also useful to him at some future day; nor was he deceived in that expectation—the commune of Florence, having purchased the houses of several citizens, in the year 1355, for the purpose of extending their buildings and enlarging the piazza, caused various designs to be prepared, and Andrea was among the masters who offered their plans to the consideration of the commune. The proposed erections consisted of a building wherein the citizens might assemble during the winter, or in bad weather, for the arrangement of such affairs as they

[17] Cecco d'Ascoli was a celebrated mathematician, physician, and poet. He was burnt for heresy in Florence in 1327. See Villani.

[18] These pictures are lost.

[19] Jacopo was a painter, not a sculptor, his brother Matteo was the sculptor.

were accustomed to transact in the uncovered arcade, when the weather offered no impediment; and the commune determined to build a magnificent Loggia, near the palace, for that purpose, together with an edifice for the mint. Among the plans then presented by the best masters of the city, the one universally approved was that of Orgagna, and this the commune accepted,[20] as being more extensive, magnificent, and beautiful, than any other. After his design, therefore, according to the determination of the signori and the commune, the grand Loggia of the piazza was commenced, on the foundations laid at the time of the duke of Athens, the building being diligently and carefully constructed of hewn stone. And on this occasion a method, new to those times, was introduced: the arches, namely, of the vault, instead of being pointed, as they had previously been, were turned in half-circles, after a new and much-lauded manner.[21] The whole fabric was one of infinite grace and beauty; and was completed, under the direction of Orgagna, in a very short time. And if the builders had had the forethought to construct their work beside San Romolo, and had turned its back to the north, it would have been as useful to the whole city as it is beautiful. This they probably neglected to do, from the wish to have it close to the palace gate; but the consequence is, that during the winter no one can endure to remain in the Loggia, for the sharpness of the wind. Between the arches of the front, and among other ornaments, by his own hand, Orgagna sculptured seven marble figures in mezzo-relievo, representing the seven theological and cardinal Virtues,[22]

[20] This grand building was commenced eight years after the death of Orgagna. Its architects were Benci di Cione and Simone di Francesco Talenti. There is nothing to disprove that Andrea may have given some first suggestions for it, but neither is there any documentary proof that he did so, and Ghiberti, when praising him as architect, does not mention the Loggia de' Lanzi. It is possible that the similarity of names Andrea di Cione and Benci di Cione deceived Vasari. See Milanesi, I. 603.

[21] The round arch has existed at all epochs of Italian history.

[22] According to Milanesi the seven Theological Virtues were designed by

which are so admirably done, that, taken in conjunction with the rest of the work, they prove this master to have been no less excellent as a sculptor, than he was as a painter and architect. In addition to his talents, Andrea was, besides, endowed with a most cheerful disposition and kind heart; no man, of his condition, was ever more amiable, or of pleasanter manners. While occupied with any one of his three professions, Andrea never neglected the other two; thus, while the Loggia was in progress of construction, he painted a picture in distemper, comprising many large figures, with smaller ones on the predella. This picture was intended for that chapel of the Strozzi wherein he had executed certain works in fresco, with his brother Bernardo; and here, believing that this painting would offer more conclusive testimony to his skill in art, than could be presented by his labours in fresco, he inscribed his name in the following words:—

"ANNO DOMINI MCCCLVII, ANDREAS CIONIS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT." [23]

This work being completed, Andrea executed other pictures, also on panel, which were sent to the pope, in Avignon, and are still in the cathedral church of that city.[24] Shortly after, the men of the brotherhood of Orsanmichele, having collected large sums of money by the ordinary almsgiving, and in consequence of the mortality which prevailed in 1348, when large donations of money and lands were offered to their Madonna, determined to construct a chapel, or rather tabernacle, around her, enriched not only with marbles, sculptured in all possible ways, and adorned with other rich stones of price, but decorated moreover with

Agnolo Gaddi, 1383-1386. Faith and Hope were carved by Jacopo di Piero Tedesco, Temperance and Fortitude by Giovanni di Fetto, and Charity by Jacopo di Piero. Perkins, however, see Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 390, assigns much earlier dates to some of these sculptures. M. Marcel Reymond ranks them among the best works in the range of Christian art.

[23] This important panel by Orgagna is still on the altar of the Strozzi Chapel.

[24] These works are lost.

mosaics and ornaments of bronze ; embellished, in short, to the utmost extent practicable to the art of the period. They resolved that the building should surpass all that had been previously erected of that size, as well for the workmanship as the material, and therefore confided the charge of the whole to Orgagna, as being the most excellent artist of that age ; and he prepared so many designs for the edifice, that one was at length found to please those who ruled in the matter, and they declared it better than all the others. Thereupon, resigning the undertaking to Orgagna's hands, they referred the whole to his judgment and opinion ; wherefore, employing various masters in sculpture, selected from different countries, to execute all other parts of the work, he devoted his own attention, with that of his brother Bernardo, to the figures ; and having finished them all, he caused the several parts to be most ingeniously and carefully put together, without cement, but with fastenings of lead and copper, to the end that no spot or blemish should lessen the beauty of the polished and shining marbles. In all this he proceeded with the most perfect success, completing the whole, to his own great honour, as well as to the benefit of the artists who succeeded him ; for this work, which, in consequence of the mode of junction discovered by Orgagna, makes the spectator believe the entire chapel to be formed of one block of marble, must have served many succeeding artists as a useful model.[25] And although this chapel is in the Teutonic manner, it has nevertheless so much grace, and is so beautifully proportioned, according to that style, as to hold the first place among the works of the period. The composition consists principally of large and small figures, in mezzo-rilievo, representing angels and prophets surround-

[25] Signor Franceschini, in *L'Oratorio di San Michele in Orto* (1892), says Francesco Talenti was probably the architect of Or San Michele. Orgagna was not summoned until 1349, and then not as *Capo-maestro* of the building, but of the tabernacle. Sig. Franceschini thinks that Orgagna himself painted the altar-piece of the tabernacle, but Herr von Fabriczy, reviewing Franceschini, *Arch. Stor.*, VII. 223-225, believes that Milanesi is right in attributing the painting to Bernardo Daddi.

ing the Madonna, and all most beautifully executed. Wonderful, also, is the casting of the bronze girders and supports, which are all carefully polished: the whole building is clasped around, and upheld, in such sort by these bronze fastenings, that the strength of the work is no less remarkable than its beauty, which last is admirable in all parts of the chapel. But how earnestly Andrea laboured to display the mastery of his genius before the eyes of that rude age, is made more than ever manifest in the large historical piece executed in mezzo-rilievo, on the back part of this tabernacle, where he has placed the twelve apostles—figures which are each a braccia and a half high; they look up towards the Madonna, who is ascending to heaven in an oviform *Gloria*,[26] surrounded by angels. In one of these apostles, Orgagna has left us his own portrait, taken as an old man, which he then was; the beard is shaven, the large capote wound about the head, the face is round and flat, as seen in the likeness above, which was taken from the relief in question. In addition to this, the following words are inscribed in the marble beneath:—

"ANDREAS CIONIS PICTOR FLORENTINUS ORATORII ARCHIMAGISTER EXTITIT HUJUS MCCCLIX."

It appears that the building of the above-mentioned Loggia, and of the tabernacle just described, with all its workmanship, cost 96,000 florins of gold,[27] which were extremely well spent; for whether, as regards the architecture, sculpture, or other ornaments, it is certainly not surpassed in beauty by any work of that period; but is such, that for the part he has taken in it, the name of Andrea Orgagna has been, and ever will be, great and enduring. It was the custom of this master to sign himself *Andrea di*

[26] There are really two subjects: one is the death of the Virgin, who is surrounded by Apostles, the other is the Virgin borne up to heaven by angels. M. Marcel Reymond, *Arch. Stor.*, *VII.* 484–488, decides that the "*Angelo che Suona*" in the Bargello is not by Orgagna, as attributed by him in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1893, but that it is rather the work of a Pisan sculptor.

[27] Probably 86,000, the amount stated in the first edition.

Cione, sculptor, on his paintings; and *Andrea di Cione,*[28] *painter,* on his sculptures, desiring that men should be aware of his claims as a sculptor while they were admiring his paintings, and of his talents as a painter while they examined his sculptures. There are numerous pictures in Florence by this artist, some of which are known by the name, as in the painting in San Romeo, before alluded to; others are recognized by the manner, as, for example, a work in the chapter-house of the monastery degli Angioli.[29] Some pictures, which Andrea left unfinished, were completed by his brother Bernardo, who survived him, but not many years. Andrea amused himself, as we have before said, in making verses; and when he was very old, he wrote certain sonnets, addressed to Burchiello, who was then a youth.[30] Finally, having attained the age of sixty years, he finished the course of his life, in the year 1389;[31] and from his house, which was in the Via Vecchia de' Corazzai, he was honourably borne to the tomb.[32]

[28] This statement of Vasari's is not corroborated by the only signed picture of Orgagna. This form of signature was also used by Francia, who placed *aurifex* on his pictures and *pictor* on his goldsmith's work.

[29] This work is lost.

[30] Burchiello also wrote sonnets to Orgagna, or rather may have dedicated them to Orgagna's memory, since the latter lived long before Burchiello. See note 2.

[31] Milanesi gives as the probable dates of Andrea's birth and death 1308–1368, I. p. 608, note 1.

[32] Andrea Orgagna is the greatest Tuscan painter between Giotto and Masaccio. As a sculptor his comprehension of objects in the round helped him to an understanding of light and shade which gave to his painted figures a solidity unknown to Giotto. Again he was a pupil of Andrea Pisano, whose sense of correct and admirable proportion in his figures is seen in the personages of Orgagna, who are no longer the thickset people of Giotto, but tall, graceful, well-proportioned men and women (See the Christ and Mary in the Paradise of the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella.) When Orgagna began to paint, the followers of Giotto had become hardly more than imitators, and Andrea seems to have turned to the school of Siena and found there his faces, which have more delicacy, charm, and beauty than have those of Giotto. Although the famous *Loggia* has been taken from him by Benci and Talenti, the tabernacle of Or San Michele and the Paradise of the Strozzi chapel suffice to his fame. The latter, indeed, is so charming that even in presence of the splendid series of frescoes with which Ghirlandajo has replaced

The drawings of Andrea Orgagna were executed with infinite care, as may be seen in our book.[38]

the works of the elder painter in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, one regrets that the church had not found place for the later glories and yet kept the frescoes of the great *Trecentisto.*

[38] Among the pupils of Orgagna were Francesco Traini and Nello di Giovanni Folconi.

In this selection from the Lives of Vasari, Andrea Orgagna practically ends the list of fourteenth century artists, for although Duccio follows him in the pages of the book he really belongs to a far earlier epoch. No one can close this great century more worthily than Andrea, for as sculptor, painter, and architect his name has been connected, rightly or wrongly, with many of the principal works of his time. The fourteenth century was an epoch of cathedral building in Florence, of cathedral decoration in Pisa, Siena, Orvieto; whole armies of statues marched from the *botteghe* of the sculptors to their places in niches or upon pinnacles, while vast panoramas of scripture story were developed in *bas-relief* upon the front of the church of Orvieto and painted cycles of biblical history covered the walls of St. Francis of Assisi, of Santa Croce in Florence, of an hundred town halls from Perugia to Padua, and of that vastest of all picture galleries, the Campo Santo at Pisa. This was the heroic epoch of Italian art, and to estimate it rightly we must consider it in whole cycles of pictures and reliefs, and look at its results not in detail but in a series of *ensembles.* What we have to realize is decoration applied to whole buildings, worked out in a carefully planned intellectual scheme, where architect, painter, and sculptor join hands and are absolutely interdependent.

If we study it in this wise we shall find that for the practice and exposition of the laws of simplicity and harmony in decoration, of the true value of color as applied to the interior of buildings, and of color in its relation to various degrees of lighting of those same buildings, the fourteenth century is equalled only by the greatest decorative epochs and is unsurpassed in the whole history of art.

DUCCIO,[1] SIENESE PAINTER

[The first mention of Duccio occurs in 1282; the last in 1339.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—G. Milanesi, *Scritti varj: Della vera età di Guido pittore Senese e della celebre sua tavola in San Domenico di Siena.* Siena, 1873. *L'Art*, III. 151. E. Dobbert, *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Sammlungen* (Vol. VI. p. 152), *Duccio's Bild "Die geburt Christi"* in *der Königlichen Gemälde-gallerien zu Berlin.*

THE men who first originate remarkable invention have at all times received considerable attention from those who write history, and this arises from the fact that the first discovery of a thing is more prized—because of the charm attached to novelty—than all the improvements that are afterwards made, although by these last it may be that the matter is brought to its ultimate perfection. Nor is this without reason, seeing that if none made a beginning, there would be no place for the gradual amelioration which brings us to the middle point, and none for those last improvements by which the thing invented attains to the perfection of its beauty. Duccio of Siena,[2] therefore, a painter much esteemed, deservedly appropriated a large amount of the fame which fell to the lot of those who succeeded him[3] for many years after, he being the first to

[1] Duccio di Buoninsegna. The name Duccio is probably contracted either from Orlanduccio or Guiduccio, diminutives of Orlando and Guido.

[2] The most ancient record of Duccio is of 1282; he was son of Buoninsegna (in the record *Duccius quondam Boninsegnæ*). A small panel in the Museum of Nancy is signed *Duccio me facieb. anno. S.* MCCLXXVIII., but this inscription appears to be false. Maestro Segna di Buonaventura, called by Tizio the master of Duccio, seems to have been his scholar.

[3] According to Milanesi it is now proved that Guido da Siena painted his famous picture, not in 1221, but in 1281, and that with him commenced the real Sienese school. See the article *Della vera età di Guido pittore Senese e della celebre sua tavola in San Domenico di Siena*, from *Scritti varj.* of G.

commence the decoration of the pavement[4] of the Sienese cathedral with those figures in "chiaro-scuro," wherein the artists of later times have performed the marvellous works that we now see. Duccio devoted himself to the imitation of the ancient manner, but very judiciously gave his figures a certain grace of outline, which he succeeded in securing notwithstanding the great difficulties presented by the branch of art now in question. Imitating paintings in "chiaro-scuro," Duccio designed and arranged the first commencements of the above-named pavement with his own hand; he also executed a picture in the cathedral, which was the first on the high altar, but was afterwards removed to make way for the tabernacle of the Sacrament[5] which we now see there. This picture, according to the description of Lorenzo di Bartolo Ghiberti, represented a coronation of the Virgin, partly in the Byzantine manner, but partly also in the manner of the moderns. And as the high

Milanesi, Siena, 1873. On the other hand Herr Franz Wickhoff *Ueber die Zeit des Guido von Siena* (*Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschungen*, Bd. X. S. 244–286, combats Milanesi's assertion regarding this date.

[4] This is not probable, as there is no record of the existence of a cathedral pavement before 1359. The mosaic mentioned in 1310 was that of the *façade*. Black, white, and red mosaic in the nature of that used for the cathedral pavement does, however, antedate Duccio. Some of it still existing in the *atrium* of the Duomo of Lucca is recorded (in an inscription near the great door) having been executed in 1233. The pavement of the Siena Duomo is protected by boards, which are occasionally removed for certain church festivals. These elaborate mosaic pictures, set as the pavement of a cathedral, are theoretically all wrong, but are actually very rich and fascinating in their effect, while many of them are beautiful, decorative compositions, intrinsically admirable, though out of place. The most critical visitor cannot, however, find much fault with their position, and is glad that so interesting an experiment was tried at least once. (For a study of the general scheme of the pavement see the *ensemble* photographed by Lombardi of Siena, from a drawing.)

[5] Lorenzo di Pietro, called *il Vecchietta*, made the bronze tabernacle in 1472 for the Hospital Church. In 1506 it was brought to the Duomo and placed on the high altar.

Francesco di Giorgio in 1497 cast two of the bronze angels for the said altar, and Giovanni di Stefano executed the two others; the marbles are by various artists after the designs of Baldasarre Peruzzi. See Milanesi, I. 656.

altar of this church was entirely isolated, the picture was painted on both sides, the artist having represented all the principal events related in the New Testament on the back part, a work which he executed with infinite care in small figures, which are very beautiful. I have endeavoured to ascertain where this picture now is, but with all the efforts I have made, I have never been able to discover it.[6] Nor can I find any one who knows what Francesco di Giorgio, the sculptor, did with it when he restored the tabernacle in bronze, together with the marble ornaments by which it is decorated.[7]

Duccio painted many pictures on gold grounds for the city of Siena, and one for the church of Santa Trinità in Florence; this last is an Annunciation.[8] He also executed

[6] This picture, ordered of Duccio, October 9, 1308, was finished in 1311. On June 9 of that year it was brought with great ceremony from the painter's house in the *Via del Laterino* to the Duomo by a long procession of clergy headed by the archbishop, and of burgesses led by the "Nine," the principal magistrates. Bells rang and trumpets sounded as the procession made the circuit of the Campo and marched to the Duomo, where the picture was placed on the high altar. When this high altar, then under the great cupola, was changed to its present place the picture was removed to the canonicate. Later it was sawn in two, the back and front being separated; the pinnacles and ornaments were placed in the sacristy; the front of the picture which bears the Madonna surrounded by saints and angels (and *not* a coronation as stated by Vasari) was hung at the side of the altar of Sant' Ansano. The back with its twenty-seven stories from the life of Christ was set beside the altar of the Sacrament. At present all of the different portions have been placed in the Opera del Duomo. Underneath the front of his altar piece Duccio wrote this prayer: *MATER. SANCTA. DEI. — SIS. CAUSA. SENIS. REQUIEI. — SIS. DUCIO. VITA. — TE. QUIA. DEPINXIT. ITA.*

[7] This altar-piece was removed in 1472 to make room for the bronze tabernacle of Vecchietta; it was packed away in a closet on the third floor of the Opera del Duomo for many years; it is therefore not surprising that Vasari failed to find it. See E. Dobbert, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, VI. 152, for a long article with reproduction of a panel of the Nativity in the Berlin Museum which is claimed as a part of the *Predella* of Duccio's great altar-piece.

[8] This work is lost.

There are also a Virgin and child with angels between St. Dominick and a female saint, and two panels from an altar-piece in the Opera del Duomo, Florence; a small signed altar-piece in the Academy of Florence: a small triptych, an Annunciation and a Christ Healing the Blind in the National Gallery, London; and a Crucifixion with other subjects from the collection

various works for different churches in Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoja,[9] which were all highly praised, and which gained him great renown as well as large profits. When Duccio ultimately died, what relations, disciples, or property he left, are circumstances alike unknown, but the fact that he bequeathed the invention of "chiaro-scuro" pictures in marble, as a legacy to the art of painting, would of itself be sufficient to secure him infinite praise and glory, he must assuredly be numbered among those benefactors who have adorned our art and promoted its progress; since he who first overcomes the difficulties of an extraordinary invention, not only claims our gratitude for his general deserts, but merits, in addition, a more special remembrance for the particular benefit thus conferred.

It is affirmed in Siena that, in the year 1348,[10] Duccio gave the design for the chapel built on the piazza in front of the palace of the Signory; and we find it recorded, that the sculptor and architect Moccio, an artist of very respectable talent, was the fellow-countryman as well as contemporary of Duccio. But returning to Duccio,[11] [12] we close our

of the late Prince Consort. Among the above pictures Milanesi chronicles as authentic the triptych in the National Gallery. Half-length figures of SS. Peter and Paul in the Museum of Cologne are attributed to Duccio by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but Herr H. Thode does not accept this attribution.

[9] Nothing is known of his works in Pisa, Lucca and Pistoja. Those in the Ceppo of Pistoja attributed to Duccio by Tolomei (*Guida di Pistoja*) are not even of the Sienese school.

[10] The chapel of the Piazza, ordered in 1348 as an *ex voto* for the Plague, was begun in 1352 and as it failed to satisfy the Sienese was demolished four times and finally completed in 1376. Milanesi believes that this chapel, raised at the expense of the Opera del Duomo, was designed rather by the head-master of the Duomo than by Duccio.

[11] The first records of Duccio are of 1285. Milanesi in his *Doc. dell' Arte San.* I. 168, says that nothing is known of him after 1320, but in his later work, Notes on Vasari, I. 657, he says that all notice of Duccio fails after 1339. Whence he infers that the artist was born about 1260 and died shortly after 1339. Segna, Martini, the two Lorenzetti, and Ugolino were probably his pupils.

[12] Duccio's altar-piece is one of the marvels of the First Renaissance; Ghiberti's description, cited by Vasari, "partly in the Byzantine manner

account of his life with the observation, that the works of this painter were executed about the year of our salvation 1350.

but partly also in the manner of the moderns," exactly characterizes the picture.

In some respects Duccio surpasses Giotto, notably in subtlety of feeling for beauty in his types and in a certain delicacy of drawing. The two masters are absolutely different in character. Duccio derives directly from the Byzantines—one would hardly be surprised to find his figures in a manuscript of the time of Alexander Severus by some illuminator who, though not as skilful as those iconographic sculptors who filled out the series of imperial busts, was nevertheless full of feeling for subtle beauty and graceful movement. Imagine a Ravennese mosaic freed from its rigidity and made supple, the color somewhat blackened, the faces human and pleasing, and you have Duccio's work. Duccio's is still the feeling of the catacombs, Giotto's is the modern, robust feeling of the busy, battle-filled fourteenth century. Giotto is the peasant with all the peasant's vigor and capacity for continued effort. Duccio is the descendant of the gentleman of the old Empire, with his refinement and his limitations. Duccio is the final efflorescence of the old, Giotto is the beginning of the new, and Duccio, like Giotto and Masaccio, is a phenomenal artist, intrinsically powerful, perceptive, and gifted far beyond his fellows.

JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA, SIENESE SCULPTOR[1]

[Born 1371?; died 1438.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Sculture delle Porte di San Petronio in Bologna pubblicate da Giuseppe Guezzardi, con illustrazione del marchese Virgilio Daria*, Bologna, 1834, may be consulted, as also, Angelo Gatti, *La Fabbrica di San Petronio, Indagini Storiche*, Bologna, R. Tipografia, 1889. Professor Sidney Colvin, Jacopo della Quercia in the Portfolio for February, 1883.

THE sculptor Jacopo, son of Maestro Piero di Filippo of Quercia, a place in the neighbourhood of Siena, was the first—after Andrea Pisano, Orgagna, and the other masters above named—who, devoting himself to sculpture with a more earnest study, began to show that a near approach might be made to Nature herself; and it was from him that other artists first took courage to hope that it was possible, in a certain measure, to equal her works. The first labours of this master which require to be mentioned, were executed in Siena, when he was but nineteen years old, and the occasion was as follows :—The Sienese army, then in action against the Florentines, was commanded by Gian Tedesco, nephew of Saccone da Pietramala, and by Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldini, when the latter general fell sick in the camp; he was consequently brought to Siena, where he died. The Sienese deeply lamented the loss of their captain, whom they honoured with a most superb and solemn funeral; they caused an edifice of wood-work to be constructed, in form of a pyramid, on the summit of which

[1] Jacopo di Pietro d'Angelo (not Filippo) Guarnieri of La Quercia Grossa, a *castello* once situated near Siena and since destroyed, is variously stated to have been a scholar of *Maestro* Goro and of Luca di Giovanni. Milanesi believes that these claims are groundless and that Jacopo was probably a pupil of his own father, who was a goldsmith.

was placed a statue of Giovanni[2] on horseback, larger than life, which was executed by Jacopo. This work displayed considerable judgment, as well as fertility of invention; Jacopo having discovered a method of proceeding which had not before been in use: he formed the skeleton and body of a horse, namely, from pieces of wood and small planks, which were afterwards swathed and wrapped with hay, tow, and hemp, being well bound and secured with ropes, when all was covered with clay mixed with a cement formed of paste, glue, and the shearings of woollen cloth. This mode of treatment certainly was, and is, the best for such things, seeing that they are required to have an appearance of massiveness and solidity, yet when completed and dried, are in fact very light, and being whitened over, they have a sufficient resemblance to marble to render them very pleasing to the eye, as was the case with this horse of Jacopo's; to which may be added, that figures thus made, and with this cement, are not liable to crack, as they would do if formed from the clay merely. The models used by sculptors, in our own day, are prepared in this manner, to the great convenience of the artists, who have the exact form and the just measurements of the sculptures they are executing constantly before their eyes, an advantage for which they owe much gratitude to Jacopo, who is said to have been the inventor of this method.

Having completed the statue here described, Jacopo, still working in Siena, prepared two tables, in the wood of the lime-tree; and in this work he carved the figures, their hair, beard, &c., with such extraordinary patience, that it was a marvel. These tables were placed in the cathedral, and when they were finished, the artist executed the figures of some of the prophets, not of large size, which are now to

[2] Vasari errs; Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldini, who died in Siena in 1390, was honored by a picture which has disappeared. The equestrian statue by Jacopo, (1391) was of Giantedesco, who died in Orvieto in 1395. Both statue and picture were destroyed by Pandolfo Petrucci, 1509. See Milanesi, II. 110, note 2.

be seen in the façade of that church.[3] In the works of this building he would, doubtless, have continued to labour, had not pestilence, famine, and the discords of the Sienese citizens, brought the city to a very unhappy condition : they had more than once risen tumultuously, and at length they expelled Orlando Malevolti,[4] by whose favour Jacopo had been honourably employed in his native city. The master departed from Siena, therefore, being invited, by means of certain friends, to Lucca, where he constructed[5] a mausoleum for the wife of Paolo Guinigi,[6] who was then lord of that city, and who had died some short time previously. This tomb is in the church of San Martino, and on the basement are figures of boys in marble, supporting a garland ; these are so finely executed, that they seem rather to be of flesh than stone. On the sarcophagus is the figure of the lady buried within, also finished with infinite care, and at her feet, in the same stone, is a dog in full-relief, as an emblem of her fidelity to her husband.

When Paolo Guinigi left, or rather was driven out of, Lucca, in the year 1429, and the city remained free, this sepulchre was removed from its place ; and such was the hatred borne to the name of Guinigi by the Lucchese, that it was almost totally destroyed ; but their admiration of the beautiful figure and rich ornaments restraining them to a certain extent, they some time afterwards caused the sarcophagus, with the statue, to be carefully placed near the door leading into the sacristy, where they now are,[7] but the

[3] There are certain statues from the *façade* of the cathedral, now in the Opera del Duomo. If any of these are by Jacopo (and there is no documentary evidence to that effect) they are of a later epoch than that mentioned by Vasari.

[4] Malevolti was expelled in 1390. Jacopo probably could not at so early a date have worked on the *façade* of the Duomo.

[5] In 1413.

[6] Ilaria, daughter of Carlo Marchese del Carretto.

[7] A portion of the base of the tomb, purchased in 1829 by the Uffizi, was recently in the *Museo Nazionale*, or Bargello of Florence, where a cast of the complete monument exists.

There are several works by Della Quercia in the South Kensington Museum

chapel of the Guinigi was taken into the possession of the commune.

Jacopo had, meanwhile, heard the rumour of what was intended by the guild of the cloth-workers in Florence, who were proposing to have a second door of bronze constructed for the Baptistery of San Giovanni, the first having been executed, as we have said, by Andrea Pisano. He had, consequently, repaired to Florence to make himself known, since this work was to be confided to the artist who, in preparing the required specimen of bronze, should give the most satisfactory evidence of his talents and capabilities. Arrived in Florence, therefore, Jacopo not only prepared the model,[8] but presented one admirably executed story, entirely completed and polished. This work gave so much satisfaction, that, if he had not had those most excellent artists Donatello and Filippo Brunelleschi for competitors, and who did, without doubt, surpass him in the specimens they presented, that great work would have been entrusted to him. But as the affair concluded differently, our artist left Florence and proceeded to Bologna, where, by the favour of Giovanni Bentivoglio,[9] he received a commission from the wardens of that building to execute the principal door of the church of San Petronio. This door is in marble, and as Jacopo did not wish to alter the manner in which the work had been commenced, he continued it in the Gothic style, adding the stories in relief which adorn the space above the range of columns supporting the cornice and arch. Every part was conducted, with infinite care and diligence, by the master, who devoted twelve years to the work, executing the whole of the foliage, and other ornaments, with

(see J. C. Robinson's Descriptive Catalogue, p. 7), and the late G. Morelli left to the Galleria Carrara at Bergamo a relief by Quercia (Madonna and Child) and also an angel by Benedetto of Majano.

[8] In 1401.

[9] Bentivoglio died in 1403. Jacopo was not called to Bologna until 1425 by Cardinal Correr, Archbishop of Arles. The figures for the door of San Petronio were sculptured about 1430-38. These superb *bas-reliefs* are among the finest productions of the Renaissance.

his own hands, and bestowing the utmost possible solicitude on every part. On each of the piers, by which the architrave, the cornice, and the arch, are supported, are five stories, with five on the architrave itself, which make in all fifteen. These stories are in basso-rilievo, and represent passages from the Old Testament, from the time when God created the world, that is to say, to the Deluge, concluding with the Ark of Noah. In this work, Jacopo della Quercia conferred great benefit on the art of sculpture, seeing that, from the time of the ancients to his own day, there was no one who had produced anything in basso-rilievo, insomuch that this mode of treatment was rather lost than merely fallen out of use.[10] In the arch of this door, the master executed three figures in marble, of the size of life, and in full relief: these are—Our Lady with the Child in her Arms, an extremely beautiful picture; San Petronio; and another saint, also admirably well done, and in fine attitudes.

The people of Bologna had been fully convinced that it was not possible to execute a work in marble which should surpass, or even equal, that which Agostino and Agnolo, of Siena, had produced in the high altar of San Francesco, in their city, a work in the old manner; they were infinitely surprised, therefore, on perceiving that this was very far superior. Having completed this undertaking, and being requested to return to Lucca,[11] Jacopo repaired thither very willingly, and in the church of San Friano, of that city, he

[10] This statement is absurd. Vasari himself has mentioned the *bas-reliefs* of the Pisani, of Orvieto, Siena, and Pistoja.

[11] This great sculptor was a true predecessor of Michelangelo, and as with Michelangelo his conviction that he could undertake and complete any amount of work, his disdain of the exigencies of time, brought him much trouble. Thus his labors at Bologna hindered his work at Siena, caused the anger of his fellow-citizens, and led them to impose a fine upon him. On the other hand his Sienese and Lucchese work delayed his sculptures of the great doors of San Petronio at Bologna so much that to Michelangelo's "tragedy of the Mausoleum" of Pope Julius, Jacopo can oppose his tragedy of the gates of Bologna, for his death on October 20, 1438, left these, his greatest works, unfinished.

executed[12] an altar-table of marble for Federigo di Maestro Trenta del Veglia. This work comprised a Virgin holding the infant Christ in her arms; with San Bastiano, Santa Lucia, San Hieronimo, and San Gismondo: the design and manner are alike good, and the whole work is full of grace and beauty; in the basement, or predella, are stories in mezzo-rilievo, placed beneath each saint, and representing events from the life of each. This part, also, is greatly and deservedly admired; for the master, with much discernment, has made the figures retiring gradually on the different planes, diminishing them as they fall into the background. His example had the effect of increasing the courage of other artists, and inciting them to enhance the grace and beauty of their works by new and original inventions. When preparing the sepulchres of that Federigo for whom the above-named work was executed, he portrayed the likenesses,[13] taken from nature, of Federigo himself and his wife, in basso-rilievo, on two large stones. On these stones are also the following words:—

"HOC OPUS FECIT JACOBUS MAGISTRI PETRI DE SENIS."[14]

At a later period Jacopo again proceeded to Florence, where the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, moved by the high reputation he had acquired, appointed him to execute the decorations which surmount the door of that church on the side towards the Nunziata.[15] Here, within a lengthened oval (mandorla), the sculptor represented the Madonna borne to heaven by a choir of angels, who are singing to the

[12] In 1422. [13] In 1416

[14] The inscription is on the altar and in the Milanesi edition bears the date 1422.

[15] Baldinucci quotes documents proving that these beautiful sculptures of the door of the "*Mandorla*" (Duomo of Florence), are by Nanni d'Antonio di Banco 1418–1421. Donatello also sculptured a youth and an old man for this door; these are statuettes upon pinnacles. M. Marcel Reymond insists in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1895, on the greatness of Nanni di Banco and on his reputation as shown by the fact that he received the order for this important Madonna of the Mandorla, while Donatello, still a young man, was only given two statuettes for the door.

sound of various instruments. The movements and attitudes of these figures are exceedingly beautiful, their flight exhibiting a force of motion and air of triumph such as had never before been displayed in a work of that character. The Virgin, also, is draped with so much grace and decorum, that nothing better could be imagined; the fall of the folds being soft and flowing, while the vestments are disposed with so much art, that the figure is sufficiently discerned, and they clothe the form without wholly concealing it. Beneath the Virgin is St. Thomas receiving the girdle; and the whole work was, in fine, completed by Jacopo in the space of four years, with all the perfection which he could possibly give it, seeing that he was incited to do his best, not only by his natural desire to acquit himself well, but also by the competition of Donato, Filippo Brunelleschi, and Lorenzo di Bartolo, from whose hands many highly-lauded works were then proceeding,—all which impelled our artist to more zealous efforts; and these were so successfully put forth, that, even to the present day, this work of Jacopo's is considered by modern sculptors to be a most rare production. On the side of the Madonna, opposite to that occupied by St. Thomas, is the figure of a bear climbing a pear-tree; and respecting this fanciful caprice of the master, much was said in that day, as there continues to be in our own; but I will not repeat these observations, preferring that every one should be left to think and opine of this matter as seemeth to him good.

Jacopo now desired to revisit his native city, and returned to Siena accordingly. He had no sooner arrived there, than an opportunity was afforded him of establishing an honourable memorial of himself—as he had desired to do—in the place of his birth. The Signoria of Siena had resolved to erect very rich decorations in marble around the fountain on the piazza, to which the Sienese masters, Agostino and Agnolo, had conducted the water in 1343; they therefore appointed[16] Jacopo to complete the undertaking at the cost of

[16] In 1408.

2,200 gold ducats. The master having prepared his model, and sent for the requisite marbles, commenced the work forthwith, and this he ultimately completed, so much to the satisfaction of his fellow-citizens, that they no longer called him Jacopo della Quercia, but ever afterwards named him Jacopo of the Fountain (Jacopo della Fonte).[17] In the centre of this work, the sculptor placed the glorious Virgin Mary, the especial advocate and protector of that city; her figure is somewhat larger than those surrounding her, and is of singular grace and beauty: around the Madonna the artist then grouped the seven theological and cardinal virtues: the heads of these figures are finished with much delicacy, and have a charming expression. This, and other peculiarities in the treatment, make it obvious that Jacopo began to discover the true path, and to gain a clear perception of the difficulties of his art: he departed entirely from that old manner to which the sculptors had ever before adhered, of making their figures in one rigid unbending piece, without beauty or movement: this master, on the contrary, gave to his forms the softness of flesh, bestowing life and grace on the marble, and finishing every part of his work with infinite delicacy and unwearied patience. To the work just described, Jacopo added certain stories from the Old Testament: the Creation of our first parents, that is to say, with the eating of the forbidden fruit.[18] In this last, the female figure exhibits, in her attitude, so touching an ex-

[17] The commission for this superb fountain, Fonte Gaia, was given January 23, 1409, to Jacopo della Quercia, for the price of 2,000 gold florins. He commenced it in 1412, and having added to his scheme of sculpture, the price also was increased to 2,280 florins, when the fountain was finished, in 1419. Jacopo's assistants were Francesco Valdambrini and Ansano di Matteo, Sienese sculptors.

[18] The second *bas-relief* represents, not the "Eating of the Apple," but the "Expulsion from Paradise;" also there is very little, if any difference in size, between the Virgin and the other figures. This fountain, having been much injured by time and accidents, was taken down in part and the *bas-reliefs* of Jacopo were placed in the lower hall of the Opera del Duomo. Meantime (in 1858) Cavaliere Tito Sarrocchi, a Sienese, and one of the best modern Italian sculptors, was entrusted with a restoration or rather a careful reproduction of the fountain, which was completed in 1866.

pression of deference towards Adam, as she offers him the apple, and her countenance is so beautiful and charming, that it does not seem possible for Adam to refuse the offering. The whole of the work is equally full of admirable qualities, exhibiting judicious consideration and much discernment throughout; beautiful children and other ornaments, with lions and wolves, which belong to the arms of Siena, form its decorations; the whole being completed by the practised hand of Jacopo with infinite judgment, devotion, and diligence, in the space of twelve years. Three very beautiful stories,[19] in bronze, representing events from the life of St. John the Baptist, in mezzo-rilievo, are also by this sculptor.[20] They surround and adorn the baptismal font of San Giovanni, beneath the Duomo, and between each of the stories are figures, also in bronze, of one braccio high, and in full relief. These are, likewise, truly beautiful, and worthy of high commendation. For all these works—which were, indeed, excellent—and for the uprightness of his life, which was very conspicuous, Jacopo was rewarded by the Signoria of Siena, from whom he received the order of knighthood,[21] and who shortly afterwards made him warden of the Duomo, which latter office he exercised in such a manner, that at no time, either before or after, were the works of that edifice more prudently directed. The master survived his appointment to his office only three years; he nevertheless effected many useful and creditable improvements in the building. Jacopo della Quercia, although but a sculptor, drew extremely well, as may be seen in certain drawings by his hand, preserved in our book, and which would rather seem to have been done by a miniature painter than a sculptor. His portrait, similar to that here

[19] Only *one* story, "The Calling of St. Joachim," is by Jacopo. As he had no time to undertake the second, it was given to Donatello. The "figures a braccio high," Faith, Hope, etc., are not by della Quercia. Jacopo also (with several assistants) made the marble lavatory of the font, 1427. The commission for the *bas-relief*, given in 1417, was not carried out before 1430.

The dignity of knighthood went usually with the wardenship of the Duomo. [20] In 1416. [21] In 1435.

given, was received by me from Maestro Domenico Beccafumi, painter of Siena, who has, moreover, related to me many circumstances respecting the talents, goodness, and courtesy of Jacopo, who, worn out by continual efforts and perpetual labours, died at Siena in the sixty-fourth[22] year of his age, and was honourably borne to his grave, in the place of his birth, by his kindred and friends. Jacopo della Quercia was lamented not by his friends and relations only, but by the whole city; and it must needs be admitted that he was fortunate, in that his many good qualities were appreciated and acknowledged in his native land, since it rarely happens that distinguished men are universally beloved and honoured in their own country.[23]

[22] Sixty-seventh.

[23] Jacopo della Quercia is one of the greatest masters in the history of sculpture. He carved grand, massive figures, overmassive at times, often incorrect and always thickset, but always full of suggestiveness and force. M. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) likens them to "a diamond half-freed from its matrix." The same author calls Jacopo the "sincere Gothic stone-cutter," and sees in him not only the inheritor of mediæval tradition, but the apostle of the new style; a precursor, in the fullest force of the word.

Much has been said of Michelangelo's derivation from Luca Signorelli, but he is far more directly descended from such *bas-reliefs* as Jacopo's Expulsion from Eden, or Adam laboring in the garden, or the grand women of Fonte Gaia, those same hooded women swathed in great folds of drapery, whom we find again in the vaulting of the Sistine chapel. "It was in allying Jacopo's grandeur of types," says M. Müntz, "to Donatello's feverish vitality and movement that this powerful assimilator (Michelangelo) created his own manner."

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR[1]

[Born in 1400; died 1482.]

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THE Florentine sculptor, Luca della Robbia, was born in the year 1388, in the house of his forefathers, which is situated near the church of San Barnaba, in Florence. He was there carefully reared and educated until he could not only read and write, but, according to the custom of most Florentines, had learned to cast accounts so far as he was likely to require them. Afterwards he was placed by his father to learn the art of the goldsmith with Leonardo di Ser Giovanni,[2] who was then held to be the best master in Florence for that vocation. Luca therefore having learned to draw and to model in wax, from this Leonardo, found his confidence increase, and set himself to attempt certain

[1] Luca di Simone di Marco della Robbia was born in 1399 or 1400 in a house in the Via Sant' Egidio at Florence. The street which ran along one side of this house was later called Via dei Robbia and is now part of the Via Nazionale. Luca afterwards bought a house in the Via Guelfa, which remained in the family for several hundred years. See Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, I. 183–186.

[2] It is not known who his master was; probably not Leonardo di Ser Giovanni. Baldinucci suggests Ghiberti as his master.

works in marble and bronze. In these also he succeeded tolerably well, and this caused him altogether to abandon his trade of a goldsmith and give himself up entirely to sculpture, insomuch that he did nothing but work with his chisel all day, and by night he practised himself in drawing; and this he did with so much zeal, that when his feet were often frozen with cold in the night-time, he kept them in a basket of shavings to warm them, that he might not be compelled to discontinue his drawings. Nor am I in the least astonished at this, since no man ever becomes distinguished in any art whatsoever who does not early begin to acquire the power of supporting heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and other discomforts; wherefore those persons deceive themselves altogether who suppose that while taking their ease and surrounded by all the enjoyments of the world, they may still attain to honourable distinction—for it is not by sleeping, but by waking, watching, and labouring continually that proficiency is attained and reputation acquired.

Luca had scarcely completed his fifteenth year, when he was taken with other young sculptors to Rimini, for the purpose of preparing certain marble ornaments and figures for Sigismondo di Pandolfo Malatesti, lord of that city, who was then building a chapel in the church of San Francesco,[3] and erecting a sepulchre for his wife, who had recently died. In this work Luca della Robbia gave a creditable specimen of his abilities, in some bassi-rilievi, which are still to be seen there, but he was soon recalled to Florence by the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, and there executed five small historical representations for the campanile of that cathedral. These are placed on that side of the tower which is turned towards the church, and where, according to the design of Giotto, they were required to fill the space beside those delineating the arts and sciences previously executed, as we have said, by Andrea Pisano. In the first relief, Luca

[3] Malatesta commenced the church of San Francesco in 1447, when Luca was forty-seven years old, and it is improbable that the latter ever worked there at all.

portrayed San Donato teaching grammar; in the second are Plato and Aristotle, who represent philosophy; in the third is a figure playing the lute, for music; in the fourth, a statue of Ptolemy, to signify astronomy; and in the fifth, Euclid, for geometry. These rilievi,[4] whether for correctness of design, grace of composition, or beauty of execution, greatly surpass the two completed, as we have before said, by Giotto, and of which one represents painting, by a figure of Apelles, occupied in the exercise of his art; the other Phidias working with his chisel, to represent sculpture. The superintendents before mentioned, therefore, who, in addition to the merits of Luca, had a further motive in the persuasions of Messer Vieri dei Medici, a great and popular citizen of that day, by whom Luca was much beloved, commissioned him, in the year 1405, to prepare the marble ornaments of the organ which the wardens were then causing to be constructed on a very grand scale, to be placed over the door of the sacristy in the above-named cathedral.[5] In the prosecution of this work, Luca executed certain stories for

[4] Professor J. Henry Middleton and others are convinced from the style of these reliefs that Luca did them from designs which had been left by Giotto. Professor Middleton also corrects Vasari, who speaks of Euclid and Ptolemy as being represented in different reliefs. These sculptures, ordered in 1437, were finished in 1440.

[5] This organ-tribune, executed 1431-1440, was taken down in 1688. In 1822 the reliefs of singing children were put for a time into the Uffizi, then were taken to the Bargello. In 1867 the architect De Fabris found in the storehouses of the cathedral works certain fragments of consoles, cornices, etc., which belonged to the original organ-lofts of Luca and Donatello. Both of these were carefully reconstructed and set up in the museum of the Opera del Duomo. They are not only two of the most important and beautiful works of the Renaissance, but they are also a most instructive contrast to each other, showing the different styles of Luca and Donatello and especially emphasizing Vasari's criticism. Luca's reliefs, at once so beautiful and so famous, so delightful when studied close at hand in the Bargello museum, now that they are integral parts of a tribune raised twenty-five feet above the pavement, lose much of their effect. Even the architectural setting, exquisite as it is in taste, and far more beautiful than that of Donatello, is less effective than is the latter. Donatello's organ-loft tells as one powerful whole, Luca's as a series of five *bas-reliefs*, which have to be examined with a glass. Nevertheless when thus examined these singing and playing children justify Perkins' quotation, "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter."

the basement, which represent the choristers, who are singing, in different attitudes; to the execution of these he gave such earnest attention and succeeded so well, that although the figures are sixteen braccia from the ground, the spectator can nevertheless distinguish the inflation of throat in the singers, and the action of the leader, as he beats the measure with his hands, with all the varied modes of playing on different instruments, the choral songs, the dances, and other pleasures connected with music, which are there delineated by the artist. On the grand cornice of this work, Luca erected two figures of gilded metal; these represent two angels entirely nude, and finished with great skill, as indeed is the whole performance, which was held to be one of rare beauty, although Donatello, who afterwards constructed the ornaments of the organ placed opposite to this, displayed much greater judgment and more facility than had been exhibited by Luca in his work, as will be mentioned in its proper place; for Donato completed his work almost entirely from the rough sketches, without delicacy of finish, so that it has a much better effect in the distance than that of Luca, which, although well designed and carefully done, becomes lost to the observer in the distance, from the fineness of its finish, and is not so readily distinguished by the eye as is that of Donato, which is merely sketched.

And this is a point to which artists should give much consideration, since experience teaches us that whatever is to be looked at from a distance, whether painting, sculpture, or any other work of similar kind, has ever more force and effect when merely a striking and beautiful sketch than when delicately finished; and, besides the effect here attributed to distance, it would appear, also, that the poetic fire of the author frequently acts with most efficiency in a rapid sketch, by which his inspiration is expressed in a few strokes suddenly thrown off in the first ardours of composition: a too anxious care and labour, on the contrary, will often deprive the works of him who never knows when to take his hands from them, of all force and character. He who knows how

closely, not only painting, but all the arts of design resemble poetry, knows also that verse proceeding from the poetic *furor* is the only good and true poesy: in like manner the works of men excellent in the arts of design, are much better when produced by the force of a sudden inspiration, that when they are the result of long beating about, and gradually spinning forth with pains and labour. Whoever has the clear idea of what he desires to produce in his mind, as all ought to have from the first instant, will ever march confidently and with readiness towards the perfection of the work which he proposes to execute. Nevertheless, as all minds are not of the same character, there are, doubtless, some who can only do well when they proceed slowly, but the instances are rare. And, not to confine ourselves to painting, there is a proof of this among poets, as we are told in the practice of the most venerable and most learned Bembo, who laboured in such sort that he would sometimes expend many months, nay, possibly years, if we dare give credit to the words of those who affirm it, in the production of a sonnet. Wherefore, there need be no great matter of astonishment if something similar should occasionally happen to certain of the men engaged in the pursuit of our arts: but the rule is, for the most part, to the contrary, as we have said above, even though a certain exterior and apparent delicacy of manner (which is often a mere concealment, by industry, of defects in essential qualities) should sometimes obtain the suffrages of the unthinking vulgar more readily than the really good work, which is the product of ability and judgment, though not externally so delicately finished and furbished.

But to return to Luca: when he had completed the above named decorations, which gave much satisfaction, he received a commission[6] for the bronze door of the before-

[6] In 1446, Michelozzo, Luca and Maso di Bartolommeo were commissioned to execute these doors (first sacristy); Maso died, and Michelozzo being absent, Luca completed them alone in 1464; they are not among his best works. Giovanni di Bartolommeo did the frame-work of the doors. See Milanesi.

mentioned sacristy. This he divided into ten square compartments, or pictures (quadri), five, namely, on each side, and at all the angles where these joined he placed the head of a man, by way of ornament, on the border: no two heads were alike, some being young, others old, or of middle age; some with beard, others without; all were varied, in short, and in these different modes every one was beautiful, of its kind, insomuch that the frame-work of that door was most richly adorned. In the compartments themselves, the master represented the Madonna (to begin with the upper part), holding the infant Christ in her arms, in the first square, a group of infinite grace and beauty; with Jesus issuing from the tomb, in that opposite. Beneath these figures, in each of the first four squares, is the statue of an Evangelist, and below the Evangelists are the four doctors of the church, who are all writing in different attitudes. The whole work is so finely executed, and so delicate, that one clearly perceives how much Luca had profited by having been a goldsmith.

But when, at the conclusion of these works, the master made up the reckoning of what he had received, and compared this with the time he had expended in their production, he perceived that he had made but small gains, and that the labour had been excessive; he determined, therefore, to abandon marble and bronze, resolving to try if he could not derive a more profitable return from some other source. Wherefore, reflecting that it cost but little trouble to work in clay, which is easily managed, and that only one thing was required, namely, to find some method by which the work produced in that material should be rendered durable, he considered and cogitated with so much good will on this subject, that he finally discovered the means of defending such productions from the injuries of time. And the matter was on this wise: after having made experiments innumerable, Luca found that if he covered his figures with a coating of glaze, formed from the mixture of tin, litharge, antimony, and other minerals and mixtures, carefully pre-

pared by the action of fire, in a furnace made for the purpose, the desired effect was produced to perfection, and that an almost endless durability might thus be secured to works in clay. For this process, then, Luca, as being its inventor,[7] received the highest praise; and, indeed, all future ages will be indebted to him for the same.

The master having thus, as we have seen, accomplished all that he desired, resolved that his first works in this kind should be those which are in the arch over the bronze door which he had made beneath the organ, for the sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, wherein he accordingly placed a Resurrection of Christ, so beautiful for that time, that, when fixed up, it was admired by every one who beheld it, as a truly rare production. Moved by this success, the superintendents resolved that the arch above the door of the opposite sacristy, where Donatello had executed the decorations of the other organ, should be filled by Luca della Robbia with similar figures and works in terra-cotta; whereupon, the artist executed an Ascension of Christ into Heaven, which is an extremely beautiful work.[8]

The master, meanwhile, was not satisfied with his remarkable, useful, and charming invention, which is more partic-

[7] Mr. Allan Marquand emphasizes the fact that Luca was not the inventor of these glazes, which existed long before his time. See his article, A Search for Della Robbia Monuments in Italy, Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XIV., p. 683. Receipts for glazing pottery are given in the Bolognese MS., entitled "*Segreti per colori*," printed in Mrs. Merrifield's Original Treatises of Painting, London, 1849. See also Brogniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques ou des Poteries considérées dans leur histoire, leur pratique, et leur théorie.* Cavallucci and Molinier have compiled a catalogue of three hundred and fifty Della Robbia monuments in Italy. There is also a list of over one hundred and fifty works by the Della Robbias and their school in Perkins' Tuscan Sculptors, II. 206–209. In the American Journal of Archæology (VIII. 2) Mr. Allan Marquand, who has made special researches regarding the Robbias, calls attention to the fact that the remarkable medallions in the Collegiate Church of the Impruneta near Florence are practically unknown, since one of the latest and best Florentine guide-books (Marcotti's) ignores them.

[8] The Resurrection dates from 1443, the Ascension from 1446; Vasari errs in saying that Luca began his terra-cottas only after having become tired of the great labor involved in bronze casting and sculpture in stone.

ularly valuable for places liable to damp, or unsuited, from other causes, for paintings, but still continued seeking something more; and, instead of making his terra-cotta figures simply white, he added the further invention of giving them colour,[9] to the astonishment and delight of all who beheld them. Among the first who gave Luca della Robbia commissions to execute works of this description, was the magnificent Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, who caused him to decorate a small study, built by his father Cosmo, in his palace, with figures in this coloured "terra." The ceiling of the study is a half circle; and here, as well as for the pavement, Luca executed various devices, which was a singular, and, for summer time, very convenient mode of decorating a pavement. And it is certainly much to be admired, that, although this work was then extremely difficult, numberless precautions and great knowledge being required in the burning of the clay, yet Luca completed the whole with such perfect success, that the ornaments both of the ceiling and pavement appear to be made, not of many pieces, but of one only.[10] The fame of these works having spread, not only throughout Italy, but over all Europe, there was so many persons desirous of possessing them, that

[9] Luca, even in the beginning, used yellow, green, and violet (see the Evangelists in the Pazzi chapel); but these colors occur only in very small quantities, white and blue being the basis of everything which he did. Andrea was nearly as reserved as Luca in his use of color, but the later Robbia sculptors yielded to the popular desire for bright and varied pigments, so that their altar-pieces and friezes are sometimes vulgar when compared with the masterpieces of Andrea and Luca.

Herr K. E. Von Liphart has attributed the Evangelists of the Pazzi chapel to Brunelleschi; Dr. Bode accepted but afterwards decided against this attribution.

[10] Milanesi cites Filarete's *Trattato d'Architettura* in the Magliabecchian Library as the source from which Vasari drew his description of the study of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. It is surmised that the medallions of the months now at South Kensington may have come from this studio. They are described in detail in J. C. Robinson's Catalogue of Works in the South Kensington Museum, pp. 59–63. The same author questions Vasari's statement that Robbia works were exported even to other parts of Italy, as they are now as rare in other districts as they are abundant in the churches and convents of Tuscany. See Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

the Florentine merchants kept Luca della Robbia continually at this labour, to his great profit: they then dispatched the products all over the world. And now the master himself could no longer supply the numbers required; he therefore took his brothers, Ottaviano and Agostino[11] from the chisel, and set them to these works, from which both he and they gained much more than they had previously been able to earn by their works in sculpture: for, to say nothing of the commissions which they executed for the various parts of Tuscany, they sent many specimens of their art into France and Spain. The above-named Piero dei Medici, also employed them extensively, more especially in the church of San Miniato-a-Monte, where they decorated the ceiling of the marble chapel, which is raised on four columns in the centre of the church. This ceiling was divided into eight compartments, producing a very beautiful effect. But perhaps the most remarkable work of this kind that proceeded from the hands of these artists was the ceiling of the chapel of San Jacopo, in the same church. Here the cardinal of Portugal lies entombed. The chapel has no sharp angles; but within four circular compartments, the masters represented the four Evangelists; and, in the midst of the ceiling, also within a medallion, they depicted the Holy Spirit, filling all the remaining spaces with scales, which, following the lines of the ceiling, diminished gradually as they approached the centre; the whole executed with so much care and diligence, that nothing better in that manner could possibly be imagined.[12]

At a later period, Luca della Robbia produced a figure of the Virgin, surrounded by numerous angels: a work of infi-

[11] Ottaviano and Agostino di Duccio. They were not even members of the Robbia family nor related to it. Luca had two brothers: one, Ser Giovanni was a notary to the Signoria, while Marco, though not a sculptor, was the father of Andrea, the most important member of this family of artists after Luca.

[12] The ceiling of the central raised chapel of San Miniato is *in situ*, as well as are the four Evangelists of the chapel in which the young Cardinal Portogallo was buried.

nite animation and beauty, which was placed in the small arch over the door of the church of San Piero Buonconsiglio, situated below the Mercato Vecchio ;[13] and over the door of a small church near San Piero Maggiore[14] he executed another Madonna, within a half circle, also attended by angels; which are considered extremely beautiful. In the chapter-house of Santa Croce, which had been erected by the Pazzi family, under the direction of Pippo di Ser Brunellesco, Luca also executed the figures of glazed terra-cotta, both those outside, and those within the building.[15] This master is, moreover, asserted to have sent various figures, in full relief, and of great beauty, to the King of Spain, with other works in marble. For Naples, also, he constructed the marble sepulchre of the Infant, brother to the Duke of Calabria: this was decorated with ornaments in the glazed terra-cotta; it was executed in Florence, and afterwards sent to Naples: Luca being assisted in its completion by his brother Agostino.

After these things, the master still sought to make further inventions, and laboured to discover a method by which figures and historical representations might be coloured on level surfaces of terra-cotta, proposing thereby to secure a more life-like effect to the pictures. Of this he made an experiment in a medallion, which is above the tabernacle of the four saints, near Or San Michele,* on the plane of which our artist figured the insignia and instruments of the Guilds of Manufacturers, divided into five compartments, and decorated with very beautiful ornaments. In the same place he adorned two other medallions in relief; in one he placed a Madonna for the Guild of the Apothecaries, and in the other a lily on a bale, for the Tribunal of the Merchants, with festoons of fruit and foliage of different

* These medallions are on the outer walls of the church of Or San Michele.

[13] The *lunette* was removed to the Bargello some time before the demolition of the Mercato Vecchio and the destruction of the church.

[14] In the Via dell' Agnolo, over the door of a house which was once the Scuola de' Cherici.

[15] *In situ.*

kinds, so admirably done that they seem rather to be the natural substance than merely burnt and painted clay.[16]

For Messer Benozzo Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole, Luca della Robbia erected a sepulchre of marble, on which he placed the recumbent figure of Federigo, taken from nature, with three half-length figures besides,[17] and between the columns which adorn this work, the master depicted garlands with clusters of fruit and foliage, so life-like and natural that the pencil could produce nothing better in oil-painting. This work is of a truth most rare and wonderful, the lights and shadows having been managed so admirably, that one can scarcely imagine it possible to produce such effects in works that have to be completed by the action of fire. And if this artist had been accorded longer life, many other remarkable works would doubtless have proceeded from his hands, since, but a short time before his death, he had begun to paint figures and historical representations on a level surface, whereof I formerly saw certain specimens in his house,[18] which led me to believe that he would have succeeded perfectly, had not death, which almost always carries off the most distinguished men just at the moment when they are about to do some good to the world, borne him from his labours before the time.[19]

[16] Mr. Allan Marquand (American Archæological Journal, 1893, pp. 155–170) attributes to Luca della Robbia, I. The medallion of the Art of Silk hitherto ascribed to Andrea della Robbia.

II. The medallion (in flat glazed ware) of Master-workers in Stone and Wood.

III. The medallion of Physicians and Druggists.

IV. The medallion of the *Università de' Mercanti* (January and February, 1463), the latest dated work of Luca.

All these are on the exterior walls of the church of Or San Michele.

[17] This tomb, executed 1454–1456, is now in the church of San Francesco di Paòlo near the hill of Bellosguardo.

[18] One of these pictures on flat glazed tile (God the Father between two adoring angels) is in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo.

[19] According to Milanesi the Luca della Robbia buried February 20, 1482, in San Pier Maggiore and supposed by Baldinucci to have been Luca the philologist, was in reality our artist Luca the sculptor, since the dates prove conclusively that it could not have been the philologist.

When Luca della Robbia had thus prematurely departed, there still remained Ottaviano and Agostino, his brothers,[20] who survived him,[21] and to Agostino was born another Luca, who was a most learned man in his day.[22] But first of Agostino himself, respecting whom we have to relate that, devoting himself to art as Luca had done, he decorated the façade of the church of San Bernardino in Perugia, in the year 1461, producing three historical representations in basso-rilievo, with four figures in full relief, admirably executed in a very delicate manner. Beneath this work the artist wrote his name in the following words :—

"AUGUSTINI FLORENTINI LAPICIDÆ."

Of the same family was Andrea[23]—he was, indeed, a

[20] See note 11.

[21] Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio is probably meant. This sculptor, whose personality and work have been made known to us by M. Charles Yriarte and Dr. Bode, was born in Florence (1418), and died in Perugia about 1498.

This inventive and intensely personal artist is author of many of the reliefs in the church of S. Francesco at Rimini, of four reliefs (1442) in the *façade* of the cathedral of Modena and of the decoration of the *façade* of the oratory of San Bernardino at Perugia. His work is excessively careless, ill drawn, and ill constructed, yet full of style, of freshness and grace. As M. Müntz says in *les Primitifs*, it is usually a mere improvisation, but is picturesque and entertaining to an extraordinary degree. Besides the works mentioned above he did others in San Domenico, San Lorenzo and the Misericordia, all in Perugia. Ottaviano his brother, born 1422, was a goldsmith.

[22] This second Luca (born 1484) son of Simone di Marco was a philologist and also a prose writer and historian of some eminence.

[23] Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), son of the elder Luca's brother Marco, rarely worked in marble and "did not attain to the gravity or grandeur which characterized the style of his uncle," giving more thought to decorative picturesqueness. Hardly anything, however, could be more charming or more perfect in its way than is his best work—such as the lovely *lunette* above the door of the Duomo at Prato; the exquisitely decorative Annunciation which fills a *lunette* at the end of a corridor in the courtyard of the Innocenti Hospital at Florence; the famous medallions upon the *façade* of the same building, representing infants swathed like the Florentine babies in stiff bandages; or the children's heads in his rich and elaborate altar-pieces of the cathedral at Arezzo; or in other works at Al Vernia and elsewhere. The medallions of the Loggia of San Paolo, in Florence, attributed to Andrea were probably finished by him, but must have been begun by Luca, as they are dated 1451 to 1495. The heads at the ends are said to be the portraits of the two sculptors.

nephew of Luca—who also worked in marble with great ability, as may be seen in the chapel of Santa Maria della Grazie, without the city of Arezzo, where he was commissioned by the commune to execute a vast marble ornament, comprising a large number of minute figures, some in mezzo-rilievo and others in full relief. This was intended as the framework of a Virgin from the hand of Parri di Spinello, the Aretine painter. Andrea likewise prepared the decorations of the chapel belonging to Puccio di Magio, in the church of San Francesco in the same city: a work which is also in terra-cotta. He, moreover, executed the picture of the Circumcision for the Bacci family. There is, besides, a most beautiful picture from his hand in the church of Santa Maria in Grado: which contains numerous figures. Over the high altar of the Brotherhood of the

Andrea's only work in marble is the altar-piece of S. M. delle Grazie at Arezzo. All his works executed for that city exist except the Circumcision (modelled for the Bacci). At Prato he executed the frieze and medallions for the Madonna delle Carceri. See the American Journal of Archæology, VII. 4, p. 422, for the Assumption in the New York Metropolitan Museum, and *Le Gallerie Italiane*, 1894, p. 72, for the Madonna recently acquired by the Bargello.

A portrait of Andrea della Robbia was painted by Andrea del Sarto in the first fresco to the left as you enter the portico of the Annunziata at Florence. Robbia is the old man who wears a red barret and leans upon a cane. Luca the younger figures in the same fresco, and Girolamo della Robbia's portrait is in the picture of the death of St. Philip.

Andrea had several sons. The eldest was Giovanni, 1469–1529, who together with Buglioni became the author of the famous frieze of the Ceppo, in the Hospital at Pistoja, a dramatic and highly colored work, differing wholly from the works of the elder Robbias. He left other works in S. Medardo of Arcevia, in S. Silvestro at Pisa, in Santa Maria Novella at Florence and elsewhere. Paolo and Marco were also sculptors but became monks.

Paolo della Robbia left only one authenticated work, an Adoration of the Infant Christ in Santo Spirito at Siena, 1504. There is doubt whether Paolo was a son of Andrea, and Signor D. Gnoli, *L'Arch Stor.*, II. 82–85, says that for Fra Ambrogio (Paolo) we must substitute Fra Mattia della Robbia, who executed for Cardinal Armellini, 1527–32, an altar-piece in the church of Montecassiano.

M. P. Trabaud, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1890, attributes to some one of the Della Robbias a relief with many full-length figures (a Descent from the Cross) in the church of La Major at Marseilles. Luca II. (1475–1550) worked for Leo X. in the Vatican. Girolamo (1488–1566) became sculptor to several successive kings of France.

Trinity there is also a work of Andrea della Robbia, representing God the Father, who supports the body of the crucified Redeemer in his arms. This group is surrounded by a multitude of angels, while San Donato and San Bernardo are kneeling below.[24]

In like manner, this master executed various pictures for the church and other buildings of the Sasso della Vernia, and these have retained their beauty in that desert place, where no painting could have been preserved even for a few years.[25] Andrea likewise executed all the figures in glazed terra-cotta, which decorate the loggia of the hospital of San Paolo in Florence, and which are tolerably good. The boys, some naked, others in swathing-clothes, which are in the medallions between the arches, in the loggia of the hospital of the Innocenti, are also by Andrea della Robbia. These are all truly admirable, and give a favourable idea of the ability and knowledge of art possessed by this master; there are, besides, a large—nay, an almost infinite number of other works, performed by him in the course of his life, which lasted eighty-four years. Andrea died in 1528,[26] and I, being still but a boy and talking with him, have heard him say, or rather boast, that he had been one of those who bore Donato to his burial-place. I remember, too, that the good old man, speaking of this circumstance, seemed to feel no little pride in the share he had taken in it.[27]

But to return to Luca, that master was buried, with the

[24] The altar-piece for the Trinity is now in the cathedral.

[25] This work still remains.

[26] In 1525 rather.

[27] An unpublished work of Luca della Robbia, the marble tabernacle of the church of Peretola near Florence, is described by E. Molinier in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1884. This work has been identified with the missing tabernacle executed between 1441 and 1443 for the church of Santa Maria Nuova.

In a niche or *tabernacolo* in the Via Nazionale is a terra-cotta by one of the Robbias. In cleaning it a few years ago a young man placed his ladder against the head of one of the Apostles, it broke off and was dashed to pieces on the pavement. See the *Courrier de l'Art*, August 21, 1885.

According to Mr. J. C. Robinson's Catalogue of Works in the South Kensington Museum the municipality of Florence has prohibited the sale or de-

rest of his family, in the tomb of his fathers, which is in the church of San Pier Maggiore, and after him Andrea della Robbia was entombed in the same sepulchre. The latter left two sons, who became monks in San Marco, where they received the cowl from the venerable Fra Girolamo Savonarola, who was ever held in great honour by the della Robbia family; wherefore it is that these artists have depicted him in the manner which we still see on the medallions. Andrea had three sons besides the monks above-mentioned—Giovanni[28] (also an artist, and who had three sons, Marco, Lucantonio, and Simone, all of high promise, but who died of the plague in 1527); Luca and Girolamo, who devoted themselves to sculpture. Of the two last-named, Luca paid infinite attention to works in the glazed terra-cotta; and among many other labours of his performance are the pavements of the papal Loggia, which pope Leo X. caused to be constructed in Rome, under the direction of Raphael of Urbino, and those of numerous walls and chambers, wherein Luca represented the arms and insignia of that pontiff. Girolamo, who was the youngest of all, worked in marble and bronze, as well as terra-cotta, and by the emulation existing between himself, Jacopo Sansovino, Baccio Bandinelli, and other masters of his time, he had already become a good artist, when he was induced by certain Florentine merchants to visit France. Here he executed various works for king Francis at Madri,[29] a place not far distant from Paris, more particularly a palace decorated with numerous figures and other ornaments, cut in a kind of stone similar to that which we have ourselves at Volterra, but of a better quality, since it is soft while being worked, and becomes indurated by time and exposure to the air. Girolamo della Robbia[30]

struction of any works in Robbia ware which have been heretofore visible from the street, including those on the exteriors of the houses.

[28] Giovanni executed the fountain in the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella, certain heads in the courtyard of the Belle Arti, and some angels for an altar in Sant' Ambrogio.

[29] The Château de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne.

[30] Girolamo della Robbia, born 1488, went to France in 1527, worked for

Andrea della Robbia. A Bambino.

laboured much in Orleans, and executed many works in various parts of the whole realm of France, acquiring high reputation and great riches. But after a time, understanding that the only brother now remaining to him in Florence was Luca, while he was himself alone in the service of the French king, and very wealthy, he invited his brother to join him in those parts, hoping to leave him the successor of his own prosperous condition and high credit. But the matter did not proceed thus. Luca died soon after his arrival in France, and Girolamo found himself once more alone and with none of his kin beside him. He then resolved to return to his native land, and there enjoy the riches acquired by his pains and labours, desiring moreover to leave some memorial of himself in his own country. In the year 1553 he established his dwelling in Florence accordingly, but was in a manner compelled to change his purpose, seeing that duke Cosmo, by whom he had hoped to be honourably employed, was entirely occupied by the war in Siena: he therefore returned to die in France, when not only did his house remain closed and his family become extinct, but art was at the same time deprived of the true method of working in the glazed terra-cotta. It is true that there were some who made attempts in this kind of sculpture after his decease, but no one of these artists ever approached the excellence of Luca the elder, of Andrea, and the other masters of that family in the branch of art of which we are now speaking. Wherefore, if I have expatiated at some length on this subject, or said more than may have seemed needful, let my readers excuse me, since the fact that Luca invented this mode of sculpture, which had not been practised—so far as I know—by the ancient Romans, rendered it proper, as I thought, that it should be treated of at some length, which I have done accordingly. And if, after closing the life of Luca the elder, I have briefly stated other things relating to

many years there, lost his place through the envy of Philibert De l'Orme (in 1550) and returned to Florence. In 1559 Primaticcio persuaded him to go again to France, and he remained in Paris until he died in 1566 in the Château de Nesle. See Milanesi.

his descendants, who have lived even to our own days—this I have done that I may not have further occasion to recur to that matter. Luca moreover, be it observed, though he passed from one occupation to another—from marble to bronze, and from bronze to terra-cotta—was not induced to these changes by an idle levity, or because he was, as too many are found to be, capricious, unstable, and discontented with his vocation, but because he was by nature disposed to the search after new discoveries, and also because his necessities compelled him to seek a mode of occupation which should be in harmony with his tastes, while it was less fatiguing and more profitable. Whence the arts of design and the world generally were enriched by the possession of a new, useful, and beautiful decoration—from which, too, the master himself derived perpetual fame and undying glory. Luca della Robbia drew well and gracefully, as may be seen by certain drawings in our book, the lights of which are in white lead; and in one of them is his own portrait, made with great care by his own hand, looking at himself in a mirror.[31]

[31] Luca della Robbia's style is so sober and contained, so delicate yet so healthy, so lovely yet so free from prettiness, so full of sentiment and devoid of sentimentality, that it is hard to find words for any critical characterization. The work, exactly suited to its place, leaves little to be said but that it is one of the loveliest inheritances which the Renaissance has bequeathed to us, looking, indeed, says Walter Pater, "as if a piece of the blue sky had fallen down into the streets of Florence" to be fixed above some door or window. Here, there is not one bit of the *bravura* of Verrocchio (in his Colleone) or of Pollajuolo (in his Papal monuments), none of the "feverish vitality" of Donatello, all is contained and measured; his range of subject like the rest, for Luca varies the latter but little, and sings one long hymn to Madonna with angels for choristers. Walter Pater in his Renaissance sums up Luca's qualities in the phrase: "Expression carried to its highest intensity of degree," "that characteristic rare in poetry, rarer still in art, rarest of all in the abstract art of sculpture."

Andrea della Robbia, a little less measured and grave than Luca, is just as lovely; somewhat more florid, his work is still none too much so to be perfectly decorative. And in looking at his Annunciation of the Innocenti, the children's heads in his altar-pieces of Arezzo, above all at his *lunette* over the cathedral door at Prato, one is tempted to set him side by side with Luca, or at the least to call him a most worthy successor.

Andrea della Robbia.

A Bambino.

PAOLO UCCELLO, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born 1397; died 1475.]

PAOLO UCCELLO would have proved himself the most original and inventive genius ever devoted to the art of painting, from the time of Giotto downwards, had he bestowed but half the labour on the delineation of men and animals that he lost and threw away over the minutiæ of perspective.[2] For, although these studies are meritorious and good in their way, yet he who is addicted to them beyond measure, wastes his time, exhausts his intellect, and weakens the force of his conceptions, insomuch that he frequently diminishes the fertility and readiness of his resources, which he renders ineffectual and sterile. Nay, whoever bestows his attention on these points, rather than on the delineation of the living figure, will frequently derive from his efforts a dry and angular hardness of manner, which is a very common result of too close a consideration of minute points. There is, moreover, the highest probability that one so disposed will become unsocial, melancholy, and poor, as did Paolo Uccello, who, being endowed by nature with a subtle and inquiring spirit, knew no greater pleasure than that of undertaking over-difficult, or, rather,

[1] Milanesi proves that Paolo, called Uccello, was the son of Dono di Paolo, a barber-surgeon of Prato Vecchio, who became a Florentine citizen in 1373. His mother was Antonia di Giovanni Castello del Beccuto.

[2] Uccello was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti in 1407. Perspective was already a subject of research, for at this time Ghiberti had introduced it into *bas-reliefs*, Donatello had made use of it in adapting his statues to the position they were to occupy, and Brunelleschi had taught it to Masaccio. The works of Uccello have nearly all perished. Uccello may very possibly have been a pupil of Vittore Pisano. See Dr. J. P. Richter, Italian Art at the National Gallery.

impossible problems of perspective; which, although, doubtless curious, and perhaps beautiful, yet so effectually impeded his progress in the more essential study of the figure, that his works became worse and worse, in that respect, the older he grew. It is by no means to be denied that the man who subjects himself to studies too severe, does violence to his nature; and, although he may sharpen his intellect on one point, yet, whatever he does, wants the grace and facility natural to those who, proceeding temperately, preserve the calmness of their intelligence, and the force of their judgment, keeping all things in their proper place, and avoiding those subtleties which rarely produce any better effect than that of imparting a laboured, dry, and ungraceful character to the production, whatever it may be, which is better calculated to move the spectator to pity, than awaken his admiration. It is only when the spirit of inspiration is roused, when the intellect demands to be in action, that effectual labour is secured; then only are thoughts worthy of expression conceived, and things great, excellent, and sublime accomplished.

Paolo Uccello employed himself perpetually, and without any intermission whatever, in the consideration of the most difficult questions connected with art, insomuch that he brought the method of preparing the plans and elevation of buildings, by the study of linear perspective, to perfection. From the ground plan to the cornices, and summit of the roof, he reduced all to strict rules, by the convergence of intersecting lines, which he diminished towards the centre, after having fixed the point of view higher or lower, as seemed good to him; he laboured, in short, so earnestly in these difficult matters, that he found means, and fixed rules, for making his figures really to seem standing on the plane whereon they were placed; not only showing how, in order manifestly to draw back or retire, they must gradually be diminished, but also giving the precise manner and degree required for this, which had previously been done by chance, or effected at the discretion of the artist, as he best could.

He also discovered the method of turning the arches and cross-vaulting of ceilings; taught how floors are to be foreshortened by the convergence of the beams; showed how the artist must proceed, to represent columns bending around the sharp corners of a building, so that, when drawn in perspective, they efface the angle, and cause it to seem level. To pore over all these matters, Paolo would remain alone, seeing scarcely any one, and remaining almost like a hermit for weeks and months in his house, without suffering himself to be approached. But, however difficult and beautiful these things may be, yet, if he had expended the time given to them in the study of figures, he would have done much better; for, although his drawing of the latter is tolerably good, yet it wants much of the perfection which he might have given it by a more discreetly regulated attention; but by thus consuming his hours in pondering these devices, he found himself steeped in poverty all the days of his life, instead of attaining to the celebrity which he might otherwise have acquired. When, therefore, Paolo would sometimes exhibit his mazzocchi,"[3] some pointed, others square, and all drawn in perspective under various aspects, his spheres having seventy-two facettes, like diamond points, with a morsel of chip bent upwards on each plane, and all the other strange whimsies over which he exhausted his strength, and wasted his time, to the sculptor Donatello (who was his intimate friend), the latter would say to him, "Ah, Paolo, with this perspective of thine, thou art leaving the substance for the shadow. These things are serviceable to those only who work at inlaying of wood (tarsia), seeing that it is their trade to use chips and shadings, with circles and spirals, and squares, and such-like matters."

[3] Orlandi—*Abecedario pittorico*—mistaking the import of this word, supposed it to be a family name, and makes Paolo a member of the Mazzocchi family. The word mazzocchi is interpreted to mean "circlets armed with points or spikes, and placed on the escutcheons of families;" and "caps of a peculiar form, such, for example, as we see in the portraits of Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi;" or, according to other authorities, it may mean the heraldic "cap of maintenance."—Mrs. Foster's Notes to Vasari.

The first works of Paolo were fresco paintings for the hospital of Lelmo,[4] where he depicted St. Anthony the abbot, in an oblong niche, painted in perspective, with St. Cosimo on one side of St. Anthony, and St. Damiano on the other. In Annalena,[5] a convent of nuns, he executed two figures, and in Santa Trinità, on the inside of the church, and over the north door, he painted stories in fresco, from the life of St. Francis,[6] one showing the saint when he receives the stigmata, a second where he restores the church, which he is supporting on his shoulders, and the third representing his interview with San Domenico. In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in a chapel near the side door which opens on the road to San Giovanni, and wherein are certain works by Masaccio, Paolo painted an Annunciation,[7] also in fresco. In this picture he represented a building, which is highly worthy of attention: it was then a new, and was considered to be a difficult thing, since it was the first edifice depicted in a good manner, and with true and graceful proportions; by this work artists were taught that, by due arrangement, the level space, which is in reality small, and closely bounded, may be made to appear extensive, and acquire the semblance of distance; and he who, after securing this, shall be capable of judiciously distributing his lights and shadows to their proper places, and of duly managing the colours, will doubtless produce the effect of a more complete illusion to the eye, cause his pictures to exhibit higher relief, and give them a more exact resemblance to life and reality. Not satisfied with this, Paolo desired to prove his power of conquering a still greater difficulty; and drew a line of columns retiring in perspective, which he caused to bend

[4] The frescoes are lost; the academy is now built on the spot formerly occupied by this hospital of Lemmo, or Lelmo, so called from its founder, Lemmo Balducci and which later was dedicated to San Matteo.

[5] This is evidently an error, for the convent of Annalena was not founded until 1455. The frescoes by Uccello have perished.

[6] These frescoes are lost.

[7] Both the works of Masaccio and Uccello have perished.

round an angle, so as to efface the sharp angles of the ceiling on which the four Evangelists are painted: this also was considered a beautiful and difficult thing; nor can it be denied that Paolo was an able and ingenious artist in this department of his profession.

In San Miniato, without the city of Florence, this master painted the lives of the Holy Fathers[8] in one of the cloisters. This work was principally in *terra verde*, but was partly coloured; and here Paolo did not pay sufficient regard to the harmony, which the artist should study to preserve in stories that are represented with one colour only, seeing that he made his fields blue, his cities red, and the buildings varied, as best pleased his fancy, wherein he committed an error, for whatever we feign to make of stone, cannot and ought not to be tinted with other colours. It is said that when Paolo was occupied with this work, the abbot, who then ruled at San Miniato, gave him scarcely anything to eat but cheese, of which our painter, who was shy and timid, becoming tired, resolved to go no more to work at the cloister. The abbot sent to inquire the cause of his absence; but when Paolo heard the monks asking for him, he would never be at home, and if he chanced to meet any of the brothers of that Order in the streets of Florence, he hurried away with all speed, flying from them as fast as he was able. One day, two of the friars, more curious than the rest, and younger than Paolo, ran after and overtook him. They then inquired why he did not come to finish the work he had commenced, and wherefore he fled at the sight of one of their body? "You have so murdered me," replied Paolo, "that I not only run away from you, but dare not stop near the house of any joiner, or even pass by one, and all that is owing to the bad management of your abbot, for what with his cheese-pies and cheese-soup, he has made me swallow such a mountain of cheese, that I am all turned into cheese myself, and tremble lest the carpenters should take me to make their glue with; of a surety if

[8] These paintings have been whitewashed.

I stayed with you any longer, I should be no more Paolo, but cheese." The monks, departing from him with peals of laughter, told the story to their abbot, who prevailed on him to return to his work; with the promise that he would order him dishes not made of cheese.

In the church of the Carmine, Paolo painted the altar of SS. Cosimo and Damiano,[9] for the Pugliesi family, in the chapel of San Girolamo; and in the house of the Medici, he painted several pictures on canvas and in distemper,[10] representing various animals, which he greatly delighted in, and to the delineation of which he gave his most unwearied attention. He had numbers of painted birds, cats, and dogs, in his house, with every other animal of which he could get the portrait, being too poor to keep the living creatures; and as he preferred birds to all other animals, he received the name of Paul of the Birds (Paolo Uccelli). Among other representations of animals painted for the Medici, was a combat of lions, to which he imparted so much force, and gave the expression of such fierce rage to the movements of the creatures, that they seemed to be alive. But the most extraordinary part of all, was a serpent fighting with a lion; the strength and fierceness of the reptile are finely obvious in his furious contortions, the venom darts from his eyes and mouth. Near to this group is a peasant girl with an ox, the foreshortening of which is admirable. In my collection of drawings, is a sketch of this scene by the hand of Paolo; the girl, full of terror, is in the act of escaping from those beasts by a rapid flight. The same picture exhibits certain herdsmen very naturally pourtrayed, with a landscape, which was considered an exceedingly beautiful thing at the time. In other parts of this work are representations of armed men on horseback, many of whom are portraits from the life.

Paolo was afterwards commissioned to paint some historical pictures in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella,[11] the

[9] This work was destroyed in the fire of 1771.
[10] These works are lost.
[11] In 1446–48; much that Vasari describes is lost.

first of which are those seen on entering the cloister from the church. In these he depicted the creation of animals, exhibiting infinite numbers and varieties of every kind, whether belonging to earth, air, or water. Paolo Uccello was exceedingly fanciful, and delighted, as we have said, in representing his animals to perfection. We have here an instance of this in some lions which are about to fall on one another with open jaws, and whose fierce rage is expressed with the utmost truth, as is the timidity and velocity of the stags and deer, which also make part of the picture; the birds and fish are, in like manner, depicted with extraordinary exactitude in every feather and scale. In the same place this master pourtrayed the creation of our first parents, with their fall. This is in a very good manner: it is well and carefully executed; and in these pictures, Paolo took pains to vary the colouring of the trees, a thing which it was not yet usual for the masters to accomplish very successfully. With respect to the landscapes, in like manner, Paolo was the first among the old painters who acquired a name for his labours in this branch of art, which he conducted to a higher degree of perfection than had been attained in it by the artists who preceded him. It is true that those who came after him, succeeded much better than he had done; since, with all his pains, he could never impart to his landscapes that softness and harmony which have been given to works of this class in our times, by painting them in oil. It was quite enough for Paolo if he drew according to the rules of perspective, representing things as they stood, and giving all that he saw: fields, that is to say, with their ditches, their furrows, the ploughs on them, and every other minutia of the kind, in his own dry and hard manner; whereas if he has selected the most effective characteristics of things, and represented such parts only as redound to the good general effect of the picture, he would have approached much more nearly to perfection. When he had completed these paintings, he executed others, in the same cloister, beneath two pictures, which are from the hand of a different mas-

ter;[12] and lower down[13] in the cloister, he painted the deluge, with the ark of Noah. In that work Paolo pourtrayed the dead bodies, the face of the tempest raging around, the fury of the winds, the flashes of the lightning, the torrents of rain, the destruction of the trees, and the terror of men, with so much art and ability, that no words could sufficiently express the merits of this work. In the background is a dead body, of which a raven is tearing out the eyes;[14] the foreshortening of this is very good: there is also a boy, whose drowned corpse is represented as greatly swollen by the water. He has, moreover, given many eloquent expressions of human passion and feeling, showing the disregard of their common danger from the rising waters, of two men who are fighting on horseback; and, on the other hand, the excessive terror of death experienced by a woman and man, who are both mounted on a buffalo, but who find that the hinder parts of the animal are gradually sinking beneath the water, insomuch that they lose all hope of being able to save themselves,—a work which displayed so much excellence, that the master acquired the highest reputation from it: the whole is carefully executed according to the laws of perspective, and many of the accessories are very beautiful. Beneath this story, Paolo likewise depicted the inebriation of Noah, with the contemptuous proceeding of his son Ham (in whom he pourtrayed the Florentine painter and sculptor Dello,[15] who was his friend), with Shem and Japhet, the other sons who throw a vestment over their father's prostrate form.[16] In the same picture is a cask in perspective, the curved lines of which, drawn in different directions, were considered very fine; there is also

[12] That is to say, after the stories—really by another hand—which follow the first described; those, that is, of the fourth arcade.—Milanesi.

[13] The Deluge is in the upper part.

[14] The frescoes here described are the most injured.

[15] Dello was then about forty-two years of age.

[16] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that the entire figure of Noah has been repainted. The Deluge and the Noah are the only frescoes in the series which seem by their execution to justify their attribution to Uccello.

a long line of trellis-work, covered with bunches of grapes, the rods of which being square on the plane, diminish as they approach the point of view; but the master committed an error in this matter, since the floor on which the figures stand diminishes according to the lines of the trellis-work, but the cask does not follow those receding lines, and I am surprised that an artist so careful and exact should have committed so manifest an error.[17] Paolo further represented the Sacrifice of Noah; and here he painted the open ark in perspective, with ranges of perches in the upper part, divided into regular rows, for the birds, of which various kinds are seen to fly out in flocks. In the air above is the figure of God the Father, who appears over the sacrifice which Noah and his sons are in the act of offering. This figure is the most difficult of any that Paolo Uccello executed, since it is represented with the head foreshortened, flying towards the wall, and has such force and relief, that it seems to press through and divide it. There is, besides, a large number of different animals about the patriarch Noah, all most beautifully done. The whole work is, in short, so full of harmony and grace, that it is, without doubt, the best of his labours, nay, beyond comparison, superior to them all, insomuch that it has secured the highest commendations for the master, not from his own times only, but from ours also.

In the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, Paolo Uccello painted a horse in terra-verde; this was executed to the memory of Giovanni Acuto, an Englishman, and Leader of the Florentines, who died in 1393. This horse is of extraordinary magnitude, and is considered extremely beautiful; on its back is the figure of the English commander, painted from nature, in chiaro-scuro. The picture is ten braccia in height, and is in the centre of one of the walls of the church, where Paolo also drew, in perspective, a large sarcophagus, supposed to contain the corpse of the captain: on this he placed the figure of Acuto in armour, and on

[17] The accuracy of these remarks cannot now be determined.

horseback.[18] This work was then thought, and continues to be considered, one of great beauty of its kind; and if Paolo had not made the horse move his legs on one side only, which horses do not naturally do, since they would fall if they did (which happened, perhaps, because the artist was not accustomed to ride, or to see so much of horses as of other animals), the work would indeed have been perfect.[19] The proportions of the horse, which, as has been observed, is of immense size, are extremely beautiful. On the basement are inscribed the following letters :—

PAULI UCCELLI OPUS.

At the same time, and in the same church, he painted, in varied colours, the dial-plate which is over the principal door on the inside of the church, with the four heads, in fresco, which decorate the angles.[20] By the same master, the western cloister, above the garden of the Monastery degli Angeli, is also painted, in "terra-verde," with a story from

[18] In 1393 the Council of the Podestà and Commune of Florence ordered Agnolo di Taddeo Gaddi and Giuliano d'Arrigo to design and paint a monument in Santa Maria del Fiore for Giovanni L'Acuto, otherwise John Hawkwood, an English captain of adventure who had become *condottiere* for the Florentine Republic and who has been called one of the earliest strategists of modern times. His monument was decreed in 1393, during his lifetime: after his death in 1394, his remains were sent to England at the request of King Richard II. In 1436 the *operai* of the Duomo decided that the figure of Hawkwood should be repainted "in the same manner and form" that had originally served. Paolo Uccello was commissioned to paint the fresco; the figure in *terra-verde* to represent bronze, the borders, etc., in *grisaglio* to imitate stone, the whole giving the idea of a tomb. The work failed to satisfy the *operai*, who ordered Uccello to efface and then repaint horse and man. The second painting was apparently satisfactory and the effigy of Hawkwood which we see to-day was transferred to canvas in 1842 by Rizzoli and removed to the west wall at the end of the right nave. For details see a life of John Hawkwood by Mr. John Temple Leader and Signor Giuseppe Marcotti, translated into English by Leader Scott under the title of Sir John Hawkwood, London, 1889.

[19] This criticism is unjust in view of the modern researches of Mr. Muybridge and M. Marey, aided by instantaneous photography, upon the movements of horses. Hawkwood's horse, though rather ungraceful, is true to nature.

[20] The heads only remain; they have been restored.

the life of St. Benedict the abbot, beneath every arch, representing all his most remarkable actions, to his death. There are many beautiful pictures in this work, and among them is one representing a monastery which is suddenly destroyed by the power of Satan, and under the ruins of which there is the body of a monk who has been killed by the fall of the building. Nor less remarkable is the expression of terror in another monk, whose vestments gracefully waving as he flies, display the form beneath most beautifully. From this painting the artists of the period received a new idea, which they afterwards frequently reproduced. The figure of St. Benedict is also very fine, as, with combined dignity and humility, he performs a miracle in the presence of his monks, by restoring their dead brother, before mentioned, to life. There are, in brief, many peculiarities throughout the whole work, most amply worthy of consideration, more especially as regards the perspective, the master's knowledge of which has been frequently displayed throughout, even in his treatment of the slates and tiles of the roof. At the death of St. Benedict, moreover, while the monks are performing his obsequies, and bewailing their loss, certain aged and decrepit persons come to look on the dead body of the saint; these figures are admirably fine. There is also an old monk supported on two crutches, in whose face there is the evidence of infinite affection, with a lingering hope that he may possibly recover his health. In this work there are no landscapes, and not many buildings, neither is there so much as usual sacrificed to the conquest of difficulties in perspective, but, on the other hand, there is much good drawing, and numerous excellencies.[21]

Many houses in Florence possess small pictures by the hand of this master, which were painted to adorn couches, beds, and other articles of household use. In Gualfonda, more especially, on a terrace of the garden which formerly belonged to the Bartolini family, are four battle-pieces,* in wood, by his hand; the horses and armed men in splendid

* *On* wood.

[21] These works are lost.

vestments of the fashion of that day, are very beautiful, and among the figures are portraits of Paolo Orsino, Ottobuono da Parma, Luca da Canale, and Carlo Malatesti, lord of Rimini, all great captains of those times.[22] These pictures had suffered injury in certain parts, and have been restored, in our own day, by Giuliano Bugiardini, from whom they have received injury rather than benefit.

Paolo Uccello was induced by Donato to visit Padua,[23] when the last-named artist was working in that city; he then painted certain gigantic figures in "terra-verde," for the entrance to the house of the Vitali family;[24] and these, as I find in a Latin letter written by Girolamo Campagnolo to the philosopher Leonico Tomeo, are so admirably done, that Andrea Mantegna is said to have held them in the highest estimation. Paolo also decorated the arch of the Peruzzi with triangles in fresco, painting rectangular sections, moreover, in the corners, within each of which he placed one of the four elements, accompanied by an appropriate animal. To the earth, for example, he gave a mole, to the water a fish, to the fire a salamander, and to the air a chameleon, which lives on the air, and can take every colour. But as he had never seen a chameleon, he painted a camel, which he has made with wide open mouth, swallowing the air, wherewith he fills his belly.[25] And herein was his simplicity certainly very great: taking the mere resemblance of the camel's name as a sufficient representation of, or allusion to, an animal which is like a little dry lizard,

[22] One of the battle-pieces is in the Uffizi; the collection of drawings in the same museum contains a study for a cavalier. Of the other panels two are in the Louvre, while the third, the battle of Sant' Egidio, is in the National Gallery, London. All the panels have suffered from the restorations of Bugiardini in the sixteenth century. See Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, Magazine of Art, X. 144, for certain doubts as to whether the National Gallery picture is really the battle of Sant' Egidio from the series mentioned above.

[23] This is doubtful, though at some period of his life he probably visited Padua and executed the works mentioned by Vasari. See the *Anonimo* of Morelli, page 23. He worked also in Urbino. See Milanesi.

[24] For Vitali read Vitaliani.

[25] These works are lost.

while the camel is a great ungainly beast. The labours of Paolo, in painting, must have been very heavy, since he made so many drawings, that he left whole chests full of them to his relations, as I have learned from themselves. But, although it is a great thing to produce many sketches, it is a still greater to execute the works themselves in an effectual manner; for the finished picture possesses a more decided vitality than the mere sketch. In our collection of drawings we have many figures, studies in perspective, birds, and other animals, beautiful to a marvel, but the best of all is a kind of head-dress, ("mazzocchio"[26]) drawn in outline only, but so admirably done, that nothing short of the patience of Paolo could have accomplished the task. This master was a person of eccentric character, and peculiar habits; but he was a great lover of ability in those of his own art; and, to the end that their memory should remain to posterity, he drew, with his own hand, on an oblong picture, the portraits of five distinguished men, which he kept in his house as a memorial of them. The first of these portraits was that of the painter Giotto, as one who had given light and new life to the art; the second was Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, for architecture; the third was Donatello, for sculpture; the fourth was himself, for perspective and animals; the fifth was his friend Giovanni Manetti, for the mathematics. With this philosopher Paolo conferred very frequently, and held continual discourse with him concerning the problems of Euclid.[27]

It is related of this master that being commissioned to paint St. Thomas seeking the wound in the side of Christ, above the door of the church dedicated to that saint, in the

[26] Varchi, in his *Storia*, lib. IX., describes the *mazzocchio* in the following words:—"The *mazzocchio* is a circlet of wood covered with cloth, which surrounds and binds the upper part of the head; it has a lining within it, and this being brought down in front and thrown back, then covers the whole head." See Milanesi.

[27] In the first edition of Vasari this work was attributed to Masaccio. It is now in the Louvre. Antonio (not Giovanni) Manetti is the subject of the fifth portrait.

Mercato Vecchio, he declared that he would make known in that work the extent of what he had acquired and was capable of producing, to which end he bestowed upon it the utmost care and consideration : he also caused an enclosure of planks to be constructed around it, that none might see the work until it should be entirely completed. One day Donato met him all alone, and asked him "what kind of a work is this of thine that thou art shutting up so closely ?" To whom Paolo, answering, replied—"Thou shalt see it some day, let that suffice thee." Donato would not press him to say more, thinking that when the time came he should, as usual, behold some miracle. It chanced that Donato was in the Mercato Vecchio buying fruit one morning, when he saw Paolo Uccello, who was uncovering his picture. Saluting him courteously, therefore, his opinion was instantly demanded by Paolo, who was anxiously curious to know what he would say of the work. But when Donato had examined the painting very minutely, he turned to Paolo and said, "Why, Paolo ! thou art uncovering thy picture just at the very time when thou shouldst be shutting it up from the sight of all !" These words so grievously afflicted the painter,[28] that perceiving himself likely to incur derision instead of the glory that he had hoped for from this, his last labour, and not having the courage to show himself fallen, as he felt himself to be, he would no more leave his house, but shut himself up, devoting himself wholly to the study of perspective, which kept him in poverty and depression to the day of his death.[29] He lived to become very old, but had secured little enjoyment for his old age, and died in the year 1432,[30] in his eighty-third

[28] This story is probably false or grossly exaggerated. The picture has disappeared.

[29] Uccello made a will in 1425, and in 1435 he owned a house in the Via della Scala worth 100 florins, so that Vasari's statements regarding his poverty are hardly borne out by the facts. See Gaye's Carteggio I., 146–147, for the original records; the same author publishes Uccello's income tax papers.

[30] 1432 is evidently a misprint. The statements of the tax records give various dates as that of his birth, but the three earliest records agree in nam-

year, when he was buried in the church of Santa Maria Novella.

Paolo Uccello left a daughter,[31] who had some ability in design, and a wife, who was wont to relate that Paolo would stand the whole night through, beside his writing-table, seeking new terms for the expression of his rules in perspective; and when entreated by herself to take rest and sleep, he would reply, "Oh, what a delightful thing is this perspective!" And it is doubtless true, that as this study was delightful to him, no less valuable and useful has it been rendered, by his means, to those who have occupied themselves with similar studies in after times.[32]

ing 1397 as the year. He died Dec. 11, 1475, and was buried in the church of Santo Spirito.

[31] Named Antonia. She became a Carmelite nun, died in 1491, and in the mortuary books of Florence is called *pittoressa*, paintress.

[32] In the history of art Paolo Uccello's name suggests before everything else the study of perspective, not the atmospheric perspective of Masaccio, but linear perspective executed in the hard, dry manner which shows the hand of the goldsmith. His battle-pieces are stiff, ungainly performances, and his Hawkwood has a certain solemnity and dignity enhanced by its great size; the most interesting of his works is the fresco of the Deluge in the Chiostro Verde of S. M. Novella. It is at once lively in its expression, and dignified by its close and careful drawing. Paolo belongs to the group of painters who were wholly naturalistic and whose entire lives were a struggle with some scientific problem relating to the correct presentation of nature upon a flat surface. We remember him rather for what he strove to attain than for what he actually accomplished, but he deserves a high place in the history of art-evolution. It was the unflinching resolve and single-hearted devotion to nature of such men as Paolo Uccello that made an end of the degenerate followers of the *Giotteschi* and putting nerve and muscle into Florentine art enabled later painters to proceed from a basis of exact science to the pursuit of the higher ideal of beauty.

LORENZO GHIBERTI, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR[1]

[Born 1378; died 1455.]

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WHOEVER obtains renown among his fellow-men for the possession of any particular gift, is without doubt for the most part a truly blessed light and exemplar to many, whether of his contemporaries or of those who come after him, to say nothing of the great honours and large rewards derived from this advantage by himself in his own life-time. This may be remarked in all cities and countries. Nor is there any thing by which the minds of men are more readily aroused to effort, or by which the discipline of study is rendered less onerous to them, than the honours and benefits to be derived from the heavy labours of the artist or man of learning. By these it is that every undertaking, however difficult, is rendered easy, and at no time will the powers of the labourer be put forth so effectually and with so rich and mature a fruit as when he is stimulated to effort by the praises of the world. There are infinite numbers of men who seeing and feeling this, subject themselves to many a pain, that they also may attain to the distinction, and merit the rewards conferred

[1] In the first edition Vasari calls Ghiberti in his heading the "painter." In his *Commentario* Ghiberti speaks of being "inclined towards painting."

upon some one of their compatriots; therefore it was that in ancient times men of parts and distinction were rewarded with riches, or honoured by triumphs and statues. But as it rarely happens that talent can escape the persecutions of envy, it is most needful that all should strive, so far as in them lies, to ward off her attacks by the truest excellence, or should at least arm themselves with strength and resolution to sustain the impetus of her onset; as was admirably accomplished by Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, otherwise di Bartoluccio, who was well aided in the struggle by his own merits, as well as by the favour of fortune. It was the high desert of Lorenzo which induced the sculptor Donato, and Filippo Brunelleschi, the architect and sculptor, both distinguished men, to place that youth before themselves, and to acknowledge, as they did, — although self-love might tempt them to affirm the contrary,—that he was indeed a better master than they in the art that was in question, on the occasion to which we allude, namely, that of casting in bronze. This act, in truth, redounded to the glory of those two artists, as well as to the confusion of many, who, presuming on their own abilities, press themselves forward and occupy the place due to talents of others, although they are unable to produce any good fruits: and after labouring a thousand years to effect nothing, do but oppress the efforts and hinder the advancement of those who might promote the progress of art and knowledge, but for their envy and malignity.

Lorenzo was the son of Bartoluccio Ghiberti,[2] and in his early youth acquired the art of the goldsmith, under the

[2] Lorenzo was son of Cione di Ser Bonaccorso, and of Madonna Fiore, who after the death of Cione married that Bartolo di Michele, who seems to have been so good a step-father to Lorenzo, and whose portrait Ghiberti has placed upon the second gate of the Baptistery. He called himself Lorenzo di Bartoluccio until late in life, but it having been suggested that he was not really the son of Cione, Lorenzo in the year 1443 publicly defended and cleared himself from the imputation of illegitimacy. After that year he went always by his real name of Lorenzo di Cione. See Milanesi, Baldinucci, and Gaye.

care of his father, who was an excellent master, and instructed him in such sort that Lorenzo, aided by his natural abilities, became a better goldsmith than his teacher. But delighting still more in the arts of design and sculpture,[3] he sometimes worked in colours, and at other times employed himself in the casting of small figures in bronze, which he finished very gracefully. He also took much pleasure in imitating the dies of ancient coins and medals, besides which he frequently took the portraits of his different friends from the life.

Whilst Lorenzo was thus labouring to acquire the art of gold-working with Bartoluccio, the plague, by which Florence was visited in the year 1400, broke out, as he relates himself in a book written with his own hand, wherein he discourses of matters touching the arts,[4] and which is now in the possession of the venerable Messer Cosimo Bartoli, a Florentine gentleman. To this plague were added civil discords and various troubles in the city, from which Lorenzo was compelled to depart, when he repaired to Romagna, in company with another painter, where they worked together in Rimini, painting a chamber and other works for signor Pandolfo Malatesti, which were all completed by them with great diligence and to the satisfaction of that noble, who, although young, took much pleasure in all things relating to art. Lorenzo meanwhile did not remit the prosecution

[3] Starnina is named by Baldinucci as Lorenzo's master.

[4] Perkins cites Ghiberti's treatise on architecture and its "false ostentation, almost Vitruvian," as proof of his defective education. The MS. which remains of Ghiberti's commentary is a copy made in the fifteenth century probably from Ghiberti's original, and is now in the Magliabecchian Library of Florence. It is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the ancient artists and is in the main taken from Pliny; the second is devoted to the artists of the fourteenth century; the third part is a treatise on architecture, proportion, etc. Cicognara, Milanesi and Herr Frey have published copious extracts from the commentaries, and Perkins in his "*Ghiberti et son École*" has translated long passages into French. The above manuscript and a second manuscript of the same commentaries in the *Magliabecchiana* belonged to Cosimo Bartoli, and from the great number of sketches by various artists which it contains, appears to be a collection of studies made by Ghiberti and his descendants. See Milanesi, II. 247.

of his studies in relation to design, but frequently executed rilievi in wax, stucco, and other materials of similar kind, well knowing that such rilievi are the drawing-exercises of sculptors, without practice in which they cannot hope to bring any great work to perfection. But Lorenzo did not long remain absent from his country. After the pestilence had ceased, the Signoria of Florence and the Guild of the Merchants resolved to proceed with the two doors of San Giovanni, one of the oldest and most important churches in the city, concerning which there had already been so much discourse and so many deliberations. The time was favourable for such an undertaking, the art of sculpture then possessing able masters in abundance, foreigners as well as Florentines: those in authority therefore, considering that the work ought to be done as well as talked of, gave orders that all the artists, masters of eminence throughout Italy, should be given to understand that they might repair to Florence, there to present a specimen of their abilities in a trial of skill, which was to be made by the composition and execution of an historical representation in bronze, similar to those which Andrea Pisano had executed for the first door.

Notice of this determination was sent by Bartoluccio to Lorenzo, who was then working in Pesaro, and whom his father-in-law urged to return to Florence, and show what he could do; saying, that this was an opportunity for making himself known and displaying his abilities, reminding him also that from the occasion now presenting itself, they might derive such advantages that neither one nor the other of them need any longer work at *pear-making*.[5] The words of Bartoluccio roused the spirit of Lorenzo in such a manner, that although the Signor Pandolfo, the other painter, and all the court, were treating him with the most amicable distinction, and entreated him to remain with them, he nevertheless took leave of that noble and of the painter, who were with difficulty persuaded to let him depart, and saw

[5] These Pears (*Pere*) were the pear-shaped ear-rings of the Florentines.

him go with extreme regret; but no promises nor increase of appointments availed to detain him, every minute then seeming to Lorenzo a thousand years, until he found himself on the road to Florence. Departing from Pesaro, therefore, he arrived safely in his native city. A great concourse of foreign artists had by this time assembled at Florence, and had presented themselves to the syndics or consuls of the Guild, who chose seven masters from the whole number: three of these were Florentines, the remaining four were Tuscans. Each of these artists received a sum of money, and it was commanded that within a year each should produce a story in bronze as a specimen of his powers, all to be of the same size, which was that of one of the compartments in the first door. The subject was chosen by the consuls, and was the Sacrifice of Isaac by his father Abraham, that being selected as presenting sufficient opportunity for the artists to display their mastery over the difficulties of their art: this story comprising landscape, with human figures, nude and clothed, as well as those of animals; the foremost of these figures were to be in full-relief, the second in half-relief, and the third in low-relief. The candidates for this work were Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, Donato[6] and Lorenzo di Bartoluccio, who were Florentines, with Jacopo della Quercia, of Siena; Niccolo d'Arezzo, his disciple; Francesco di Valdambrina, and Simone da Colle, called Simon of the Bronzes.[7] All these masters made promise before the consuls that they would deliver each his specimen completed at the prescribed time, and all set themselves to the work with the utmost care and study, putting forth all their strength, and calling all their knowledge to aid, in the hope of surpassing one another. They kept their labours meanwhile entirely secret, one from the other, that they might not copy each other's plans. Lorenzo alone, who had Bartoluc-

[6] The competition was held in 1401.

[7] Another competitor mentioned in Ghiberti's commentary is Niccolò Lamberti of Arezzo; the one named by Vasari is, according to Milanesi, Niccolò Spinelli, also an Aretine. Perkins (see *Ghiberti et son École*, p. 9) doubts whether many foreigners took part in the competition.

cio to guide him, which last suffered him to shrink before no amount of labour, but compelled him to make various models before he resolved on adopting any one of them—Lorenzo only, I say, permitted all the citizens to see his work, inviting them, or any stranger who might be passing and had acquaintance with the art, to say what they thought on the subject; and these various opinions were so useful to the artist, that he produced a model, which was admirably executed and without any defect whatever. He then made the ultimate preparations, cast the work in bronze, and found it succeed to admiration; when Lorenzo, assisted by Bartoluccio his father, completed and polished the whole with such love and patience, that no work could be executed with more care, or finished with greater delicacy. When the time arrived for comparing the different works, Lorenzo's specimen, with those of all the other masters, were found to be completed, and were given to the Guild of the Merchants for their judgment. Wherefore, all having been examined by the syndics, and by many other citizens, there were various opinions among them touching the matter. Many foreigners had assembled in Florence—some painters, some sculptors, others goldsmiths: these were all invited by the consuls, or syndics, to give judgment on those works, together with the men of the same calling who dwelt in Florence. The number of these persons was thirty-four, all well experienced in their several arts. But although there were divers opinions among them touching various points, and one preferred the manner of this candidate and one of that, yet they all agreed that Filippo di Ser Brunellesco and Lorenzo di Bartoluccio had presented works of better composition, more richly adorned with figures, and more delicately finished[8] than was that of Donato, although in his specimen also the design was exceedingly good.[9] In the work of

[8] Milanesi points out the fact that Ghiberti's relief was cast in one piece, while the other shown by Brunelleschi was in several pieces. These two reliefs, ordered in 1401, finished probably in 1402, are now in the Bargello, or National Museum of Florence.

[9] It is unlikely that Donatello competed, as he was only seventeen years old,

Jacopo della Quercia the figures were carefully designed, but wanted delicacy of finish. In the specimen of Francesco da Valdambrina the heads were beautiful and the work well finished, but the composition was confused. That of Simon da Colle was a beautiful specimen of casting, because that was his peculiar branch of art, but the design was not good. The specimen presented by Niccolo d'Arezzo showed the hand of the practised master, but the figures were stunted and the work not well finished. The story executed by Lorenzo only, which is still to be seen in the Hall of Audience, belonging to the Guild of the Merchants, was perfect in all its parts. The whole work was admirably designed and very finely composed: the figures graceful, elegant, and in beautiful attitudes; and all was finished with so much care and to such perfection, that the work seemed not to have been cast and polished with instruments of iron, but looked rather as though it had been blown with the breath.

When Donato and Filippo saw the care and success with which Lorenzo had completed his specimen, they drew aside together, and, conferring with each other, decided that the work ought to be given to him, because it appeared to them that the public advantage, as well as individual benefit, would be thus best secured and promoted, since Lorenzo being very young—for he had not completed his twentieth year—would have the opportunity, while exercising his talents on that magnificent work, of producing those noble fruits of which his beautiful story gave so fair a hope. They declared that, according to their judgment, Lorenzo had executed his specimen more perfectly than any of the other artists, and that it would be a more obvious proof of envy to deprive him of it, than of rectitude to accord it to him.

but he did assist in the execution of the second gate. Milanesi thinks that the design for a panel, which, according to Vasari, Donatello offered in competition for the Baptistery gates, was in reality a design made much later for the sacristy doors of the Duomo—doors which were ordered of him in 1436, but were never completed. See Milanesi, II. 226, note 2.

Lorenzo therefore commenced the works for those doors, beginning with that which is opposite to the house of the wardens, and first he prepared a model, in wood, of the exact size which each compartment was to have in the metal, with the framework and the ornaments of the angles, on each of which was placed a head; and all the decorations by which the stories of every compartment were to be surrounded. After having prepared and dried the mould with infinite care and exactitude in a workshop that he had procured opposite to Santa Maria Nuova,[10] where the Weavers' Hospital now stands, and which was called the threshing-floor, he built an immense furnace, which I well remember to have seen, and there cast the portion he had prepared, in metal. But it pleased the fates that this should not succeed; yet Lorenzo, preceiving in what point he had failed, did not lose courage, nor permit himself to despond; but having promptly prepared another mould, without making the occurrence known to any one, he cast the piece again, when it succeeded perfectly. In this manner the artist continued the whole work, casting each story himself; and when he had completed and polished it, he fixed it in its place. The arrangement of the stories is similar to that adopted by Andrea Pisano in constructing the first door, which had been designed for him by Giotto. The number of them is twenty; the subjects being taken from the New Testament: beneath these stories, in eight similar compartments, are figures of the four Evangelists, two on each leaf or fold of the door, with the four Doctors of the Church in like manner. All these figures are varied in their attitudes, vestments, and other particulars: one is reading, another writing; some are in deep meditation, and differing thus one from another, all, whether acting or reflecting, are equally lifelike. The framework which encloses each pict-

[10] This same house in the Via Bufalini bears a tablet stating that the doors of the baptistery were cast there. In reality Ghiberti bought the house in 1450, when only the jambs of the door remained to be done. In 1498 Perugino occupied it.

ure is enriched with ornaments of ivy leaves and foliage of other kinds, with mouldings between them, and on each angle is a male or female head in full relief, purporting to represent the Prophets and Sibyls. They are very beautiful, and their variety serves to prove the fertility of invention possessed by the master. Above the Doctors and Evangelists here described, and on the side towards Santa Maria del Fiore, is the first, or commencing story, which represents the Annunciation of Our Lady: Lorenzo has given to the Virgin an expression of terror and sudden alarm; as the angel appears, she turns from him in an attitude of infinite grace. Beside this representation is one exhibiting the Birth of Christ; where Our Lady is reposing in a recumbent position, with Joseph, earnestly regarding the shepherds, and angels, who are singing. On the opposite fold of the door, and at the same height with the last mentioned compartment, is one presenting a continuation of the story, and exhibiting the arrival of the Magi, with their adoration of Christ, to whom they offer tribute; their court and servants are also shown following them, with horses and other accessories, all displaying infinite ability. Next to this is Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple; and here the admiring attention with which the doctors are listening to Christ is very finely expressed, as is the joy of Mary and Joseph at finding him. Above these there follows (to commence with that over the Annunciation), the Baptism of Christ, by John, in the river Jordan; and here the reverence of the one is as clearly expressed as is the faith of the other. Beside this is the Temptation of Christ by the devil, who, terrified by the words of Jesus, stands before him in an attitude of abject fear; showing that he knows Christ to be the Son of God. Next to this, on the opposite fold, is the Saviour driving the money-changers from the Temple, overturning their tables, and casting forth the animals for sacrifice, the doves, and other merchandize. In this picture the figures of the expelled traders falling over each other in their flight, are full of grace and beauty, giving

proof of infinite judgment in the artist. Beside the Expulsion from the Temple is the Shipwreck of the Apostles, with St. Peter, who, having descended from the ship, is sinking in the waves, but is supported by Jesus. This story exhibits a rich variety in the different attitudes of the Apostles, who are labouring to save the ship; and the faith of St. Peter is made manifest by his proceeding to join Christ on the water. On the other leaf, and over the story of the Baptism, is that of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, wherein Lorenzo has shown, in the attitudes of the Apostles, how the eyes of mortals are dazzled by the sight of celestial glories; while the divinity of Christ is made obvious, as he holds his head aloft, and with extended arms appears between the figures of Moses and Elias. Beside this is the Resurrection of Lazarus from the dead: he issues from the sepulchre, and stands before the spectators with his hands and feet bound, to the infinite astonishment of all. Martha is present, with Mary Magdalene, who kisses the feet of the Saviour with the utmost reverence and humility. On the same level with these two last mentioned scenes, but on the opposite leaf of the door, is Christ entering Jerusalem, seated on the ass, while the children of the Hebrews cast their garments before Him, and strew the path of the Redeemer with palm leaves and olive branches; the Apostles are also shown, following their Master. Beside this scene is the Last Supper, an admirable composition, and full of beauty in all its parts: the figures are seated at a long table, half placed within and half without the chamber. Above the Transfiguration is the Saviour on the Mount of Olives, where the three Apostles are seen asleep in various attitudes of much truth and beauty. The story beside this is that of Christ betrayed by Judas, and taken by the Jews, which presents many admirable characteristics well meriting attentive consideration. The Apostles, who have been put to flight, exhibit many fine attitudes, while those of the Jews who take the Saviour captive equally display the violence they are using, and the triumph

they feel. On the opposite fold of the door, and at the same height with these, is Christ bound to the column, his figure, bent beneath the flagellation, is somewhat contorted by the pain he suffers, and exhibits an attitude which awakens deep compassion, while a fearful rage and desire for vengeance are manifest in the gestures and faces of the Jews by whom he is tortured. Beside this story is that of Christ conducted before Pilate, who washes his hands, and condemns the Saviour to the cross.

Above the scene in the garden, on the other side, and in the last series of these representations, is Christ bearing his Cross, and led to death by a furious rabble of the soldiery, who, by the violence of their gestures, appear to drag Him forcibly along. The deep grief and bitter wailings of the Maries are also expressed with so much truth and vividness, that those who were present at this mournful spectacle can scarcely have seen it more clearly. Near to this picture is that of Christ crucified, with Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist seated on the earth, overwhelmed with grief and indignation. On the opposite fold of the door is then depicted the Resurrection, where the guards lie, like dead men, in a deep sleep, while the Saviour rises upwards; and such is the grace of his attitude, and the perfection of the beautiful limbs produced by the genius and patience of Lorenzo, that he does indeed appear to be glorified. Finally, in the last compartment, appears the Holy Spirit descending on the Apostles; and truly exquisite are the attitudes and expressions of those who receive it.

This great work was carried forward to its completion without sparing either cost, time, or whatever else could promote the successful termination of the enterprise; the nude figures are in all parts most beautiful, and the draperies, although still retaining some slight trace of the older manner of Giotto's day, have, nevertheless, a direct tendency towards that of more modern times, and this gives to figures of that size a grace of character which is very attractive. The composition of each story is, of a truth, so well

arranged, the figures are so judiciously grouped, and so finely executed, that the whole work richly deserves the praise bestowed on it in the commencement, by Filippo. The merits of Lorenzo were most honourably acknowledged by his fellow citizens, and from them in general, as well as from the artists in particular, whether compatriots or foreigners, he received the highest commendations. This work, with its exterior ornaments, which are also of metal, representing festoons of fruits, and figures of animals, cost 22,000 florins, and the door weighed 34,000 pounds.[11]

This undertaking being completed, the consuls of the Guild of Merchants considered that they had been extremely well served, and hearing the praises given to Lorenzo by all beholders, they determined that he should execute a second work, to be placed in one of the niches outside Or San Michele, and opposite to the building occupied by the cloth-dressers. This was a statue in bronze, four braccia and a half high, to the honour of St. John the Baptist. Lorenzo commenced the work accordingly; nor did he ever leave it until its entire completion: this figure also has

[11] Ghiberti's first gates were commenced in 1403 and placed in 1424. There are two valves with fourteen *bas-reliefs* in each valve. The stories are from the New Testament; each relief has its own border of leafage, adorned also with the head of a prophet or sibyl. In eight of the reliefs are the Evangelists and Fathers of the church; in the others are The Annunciation; The Nativity; The Adoration of the Magi; Christ among the Doctors; The Baptism of Christ; The Temptation; The Vendors Driven from the Temple; The Barque of Peter; The Transfiguration; The Raising of Lazarus; Christ Entering Jerusalem; The Last Supper; Christ in the Garden; The Kiss of Judas; The Flagellation; Christ before Pilate; The Bearing of the Cross; The Crucifixion; The Resurrection; The Holy Women at the Tomb of Christ. M. Eug. Müntz in his *Primitifs* in characterizing these reliefs as an outcome of Gothic art, says that Ghiberti in studying the harmony, earnestness, and simplicity of Andrea Pisano's figures in his first gate of the Baptistery has added to the qualities of Andrea "more ease, greater and richer variety of composition, more perfect grace." He adds that Ghiberti has created "costumes which are intermediate between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and a transitional architecture not yet frankly antique." He considers that this second gate (the first by Ghiberti) of the Baptistery is, if compared with Lorenzo's competitive relief, the Sacrifice of Abraham, almost a retrogression.

been, and still is, highly commended: the name of the artist is engraved on the mantle. The statue of the Baptist was placed in the tabernacle designed for it in the year 1414, and in the head, in an arm, which seems to be of the living flesh rather than of bronze, in the hands, and in the attitude, may be seen a commencement of the good modern manner. Lorenzo was the first who began to imitate the works of the ancient Romans, of which he was a zealous student, as all must be who would attain to perfection in their art. In the front and upper part of the tabernacle enclosing this figure, the master made an attempt in mosaic, placing there the half-length figure of a prophet.

The fame of Lorenzo had now extended not only throughout all Italy, but also into other countries, where he was considered the most ingenious of all the masters in foundry work, insomuch that Jacopo della Fonte, Donato, and the Sienese Vecchietto having executed certain figures and historical pieces in bronze for the Signoria of Siena, to be placed in their church of San Giovanni, and which were intended to adorn the baptismal font of that church,[12] the Sienese (having seen the works of Lorenzo in Florence) agreed among themselves that he also should execute two stories for them: the subjects of these works were from the life of John the Baptist, and in one was represented the Baptism of Christ by St. John, who is accompanied by many figures, some naked, others very richly dressed. The second exhibits the Baptist when taken and led before Herod. In these works Lorenzo greatly surpassed the artists who had executed the others, and was in consequence very highly commended by the Sienese, and by all who beheld the work.

The masters of the Mint[13] had to furnish a statue for

[12] The panels of the font were executed as follows: Two by Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni (commissioned 1417), two by Ghiberti (1417-1427), one by Jacopo della Quercia, one by Donatello. Milanesi does not believe that Vecchietta worked upon the font, considering that the dates make it improbable.

[13] Not the masters of the Mint but the guild of Bankers. The statue of St. Matthew was finished in 1420 and set up in 1422. The statuettes above

one of those niches of Or San Michele, which are opposite to the Guild of the Weavers. This statue was to represent St. Matthew, and to be of the same height with that of St. John above described. They confided the charge of it, therefore, to Lorenzo Ghiberti, who produced a work of the utmost perfection, and one which was more highly praised than that of St. John, the master having executed it more in the modern manner. The successful completion of this statue caused the Guild of the Woolstaplers to determine that our artist should execute another for the same place, likewise in bronze, and of the same proportions with that of St. Matthew. The figure was to represent St. Stephen,[14] who was the patron saint of that guild, and was to be placed in the niche following that of St. Matthew. This also Lorenzo completed very happily, giving the bronze a very beautiful varnish, insomuch that this statue afforded no less satisfaction than those before mentioned, or than the other works performed in Florence by the same master.

At that time Maestro Leonardo Dati was general of the Preaching Friars, and, desiring to leave to his country a memorial of himself in Santa Maria Novella, where he had taken his vows, he caused Lorenzo to construct a sepulchre of bronze, with his own figure, taken from nature, in a recumbent position thereon ;[15] and from this work, which was very much admired, there arose another, which Ludovico degli Albizzi and Niccolo[16] Valori caused to be constructed in the church of Santa Croce.

it on the pinnacles are by Niccolo d'Arezzo. (See M. Reymond, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1891.) M. Reymond also attributes to Niccolo the statue of Sant' Jacopo and the fine relief beneath it, and dates it as the second work upon the exterior of Or San Michele.

[14] The St. Stephen was executed in 1428.

[15] This slab is greatly worn by the feet of passers. Dati died in 1424, and his monument was set here at public expense as a reward for service done the Commune as Ambassador.

[16] Milanesi quotes Ghiberti's own commentary to prove that the effigy of Ludovico degli Obizi (as Lorenzo calls him) was designed but not executed *circa* 1427, and that the other tomb commemorated Bartolommeo Valori, not Niccolò.

After these things, Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici desiring to do honour to the relics of the three martyrs, Protus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesius, caused their bodies to be brought from Casentino, where they had remained, receiving but little veneration, for many years, and commissioned Lorenzo to prepare a tomb of bronze. In the midst thereof are two angels, in basso-rilievo, holding a garland of olive, within which is inscribed the names of the aforesaid martyrs. In this tomb[17] were placed the above-named relics, and it was fixed in the church belonging to the monastery of the Angeli, in Florence. On the lower part, and on that side which is turned towards the church of the monks, are the following words, engraved on marble :—

"Clarissimi viri Cosmas et Laurentius fratres neglectas diu sanctorum reliquias martyrum religioso studio ac fidelissima pietate suis sumptibus aereis loculis condendas colendasque curarunt."

And on the outer side, where the little church faces towards the road, are the words hereafter recited, also engraved on marble, beneath the arms of the Medici :—

"Hic condita sunt corpora sanctorum Christi Martyrum Prothi et Hyacinthi, et Nemesii,* Ann. Dom. 1428."

This work likewise succeeded perfectly well, and from that circumstance there arose a wish on the part of the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore to have a sarcophagus and monument of bronze constructed by the same master, for the reception of the body of San Zanobi, bishop of Florence.[18] This tomb is three braccia and a half long and two high ; it is decorated with many and varied ornaments, and

* *Prote* and *Hyacintii*, in the Milanesi Edition.

[17] When the monastery was suppressed this tomb, executed 1428, was broken up and sold for old bronze. It has been put together again, and is in the Museo Nazionale, or Bargello.

[18] The bronze sarcophagus was originally intended, according to Bottari, to hold only the head of San Zanobi (Zenobius). Ordered in 1432 of Ghiberti, the sarcophagus was completed in 1446. It is still in the cathedral.

in the centre of the front Lorenzo has represented San Zanobi restoring to life a child who had been left to his care by the mother, and who had died while she was absent on a pilgrimage. In a second relief is also a child who has been killed by a wagon, with the same saint, who resuscitates one of the two servants or lay-brothers sent to him by Sant' Ambrogio, and of whom one had died in crossing the Alps. The companion of the dead servant stands before the saint bewailing his loss, when San Zanobi, moved to compassion, consoles him by the words, "be at peace: he doth but sleep, and thou shalt see him alive again." On the back of the tomb are six angels, who hold a garland of elm-leaves, within which are certain words to the praise of San Zanobi, and in memory of that saint. To this work also Lorenzo gave the most earnest care, and putting forth the many resources of his art, he finished it most successfully, insomuch that it was greatly celebrated, and considered an extraordinarily beautiful thing.

While the works of Lorenzo, who executed innumerable commissions for various persons in gold and silver, as well as in bronze, were daily increasing his fame, it chanced that there fell into the hands of Giovanni, son of Cosmo de' Medici, a large cornelian, on which the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo was represented in intaglio, which cornelian, as it was said, had once served the emperor Nero for a seal, and this being esteemed a rare thing, as well for the size of the stone, which was large, as for the marvellous beauty of the intaglio, Giovanni gave it to Lorenzo, to the end that he should make a gold ornament, also intaglio, to enclose and surround it; at this work the master laboured several months, but when it was completed, the intaglio that he had executed around it was found to be no less beautiful and meritorious than was the admirably perfect engraving of the stone itself. The success of this work caused Lorenzo to receive commissions for many others in gold and silver, but which are not now to be found. Among other ornaments he made a clasp or fastening of gold for Pope Martin,

which that pontiff wore in his cope: this was adorned with figures in full relief, and among them were placed jewels of very great price—a truly excellent work. He also made a wonderfully rich mitre, formed of foliage in gold, the leaves being wholly detached from the surface and of very beautiful effect: among them were also many small figures in full relief, which were considered marvellously fine. From this work the master not only acquired increase of fame, but also large rewards from the liberality of Pope Martin.

In the year 1439 [19] Pope Eugenius arrived in Florence to unite the Greek and Roman churches, when the Florentine council was held. The pope having seen the works of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and being no less pleased with them than with the artist himself, who was very acceptable to that pontiff, his holiness commanded him to make a mitre of gold, weighing fifteen pounds, with pearls, the weight of which was five pounds and a half, the whole being estimated—with the jewels also set in the mitre—at 30,000 ducats of gold.[20] It is said that among these pearls were six of the size of filberts, and no imagination could conceive any thing more beautiful (according to what was afterwards seen in a design of the whole) than the fanciful arrangement of these jewels, with the variety of figures, of children and others, which formed the varied and most graceful decoration of this work for which the master received many favours from the pontiff both for himself and his friends, besides the first remuneration of his labours.

The city of Florence had acquired so much glory and praise from the admirable works of this most ingenious artist, that a resolution was taken by the consuls of the Guild of the Merchants to give him a commission for the third door of San Giovanni, which was also to be of bronze.

[19] Pope Eugenius came to Florence in 1438.

[20] M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, p. 535, gives the date of the clasp and mitre for Pope Martin as the year 1419. These jewels have all disappeared, as well as the gold work in which they were set. Cellini declares in his memoirs that Ghiberti was at his best as a goldsmith, "and more in his true profession" when occupied with small figures than when designing large ones.

In the case of the first door, which Lorenzo had made, he had followed the directions of the consuls, as regarded the decoration of the frame-work, by which the figures were surrounded, since they had determined that the general form of all the doors should be similar to that constructed by Andrea Pisano. But having now seen how greatly Lorenzo had surpassed the elder master, the consuls resolved to change the position of the doors, and whereas that of Andrea had previously occupied the centre, they now placed it on the side of the building which stands opposite to the Misericordia, proposing that the new door to be made by Lorenzo should be substituted for it, and should thenceforward occupy the centre; for they fully expected that he would put forth every effort and zealously employ all the resources of his art, insomuch that they now placed themselves in his hands without reserve, referring the whole matter entirely to his care, and declaring that they gave him full permission to proceed with the work as he should think best,[21] and to do whatever might most effectually secure that this third door should be the richest, most highly adorned, most beautiful and most perfect, that he could possibly contrive, or that could be imagined. Nor would they have him spare either time or labour, to the end that as he had previously surpassed all the sculptors that had lived before him, so he might now eclipse and surpass all his own earlier works.

Lorenzo commenced the undertaking, calling all his knowledge and ability of every kind to aid. He divided his work into ten compartments, or pictures, five on each side, which gave to each compartment one braccio and a third; around the whole and serving as an ornament to the frame-

[21] There is an interesting letter from Lionardo Aretino to Niccolo da Uzzano and the other *Deputati*, containing suggestions concerning the subjects of the *bas-reliefs*, and stating that they should first of all be "subjects capable of illustration," and secondly, that "they should be significant." He adds that he has selected ten histories and eight Prophets to be figured on the doors, and remarks that he should be glad to be at the elbow of the designer so as to make him feel the full significance of each story.

work which encloses the stories, are niches filled with figures in almost full relief, the number of which is twenty, all of exceeding beauty. Among others is the naked form of Samson, with a jaw-bone in his hand and his arm round a column, and this exhibits a degree of perfection which will bear comparison with that displayed by the ancients in their figures of Hercules, whether in bronze or marble. The same may be said of Joshua, who is in the act of addressing his army, and really seems to speak: there are besides, many prophets and sibyls, adorned in a richly-varied manner, and displaying the utmost fertility of invention in draperies, head-dresses, ornaments of the hair, and other decorations. Twelve[22] figures, in a recumbent position, were placed in the niches, which are at each corner; and on the angles, in circular cavities, the master executed female heads, with those of youths and old men, the number of all being thirty-four.[23] Among these heads, towards the centre of the door and near to the place where the master has engraved his name, is the portrait of his father-in-law Bartoluccio, which is the oldest of the series, while that of the youngest man is the head of Lorenzo himself, the author of the whole work. There are besides innumerable decorations of foliage, cornices, and other ornaments, all arranged and perfected with the utmost ability and the most zealous care. The folds of this door are adorned, as we have said, with stories from the Old Testament—the first presents the creation of Adam, and Eve, his wife, whose figures exhibit the very perfection of beauty; and here we perceive that Lorenzo has had it at heart to give them the most exquisite forms that he could devise, intending to show that as our first parents came from the hand of God, the most beautiful of all the creatures that had been made, so in his work they were designed to surpass all the others that he had ever produced in any of his works: without doubt a most worthy consideration. In the same picture are seen our first parents eating the apple, and also at the moment when

[22] Four figures rather. [23] Twenty-four figures rather.

they are driven out of Paradise: and here the attitudes of the figures express the first effects of their sin; they are made aware of their nakedness, which they seek to conceal. We finally see them receive their punishment, being compelled by the angel to depart from Paradise.

In the second compartment are Adam and Eve, with their two little children, Cain and Abel. These last are also shown when Abel is offering the best of his flock in sacrifice, while Cain presents the less worthy oblation. The expression of the latter displays his envy of his brother—that of Abel makes manifest the love he bears to God. One part of this picture is of singular beauty: it exhibits Cain ploughing the earth with a pair of oxen, whose labour, and the efforts they make beneath the yoke, are so admirably exhibited, that they seem alive and in positive motion. The same may be said of the figure of Abel, who is keeping his flocks: he is then slain by his brother, and here the movements of Cain are full of violence; his expression is that of pitiless cruelty, as he strikes his brother with his club, while the bronze itself has been made to exhibit the languor of death in the most beautiful form of Abel. In the distance, moreover, and executed in basso-rilievo, is seen the Almighty Father, demanding from Cain what he has done with his brother. Each of the compartments comprise four stories. In the third Lorenzo represented the patriarch Noah issuing from the ark, with his wife, his sons, his daughters, and the wives of his sons, together with all the animals, those of the air as well as of the earth: all these creatures are finished with such perfection of excellence, each in its kind, that it is not possible for art more effectually to imitate nature. The open ark is seen in the extreme distance, with the desolation caused by the deluge: this part is in perspective and in the lowest relief (bassissimo-rilievo), the whole being treated with the utmost delicacy: the figures of Noah and his sons could not possibly be more full of life, as they offer their sacrifice to God, while the rainbow, the sign of peace between God

and Noah, is seen in the heavens. But much the most admirable of all is the scene when Noah has planted the vine, and having drunk of the fruit thereof has become inebriated, and is exposed to the derision of Ham, his son. And of a truth no sleeping figure could be more exactly imitated, the utter abandonment of the intoxicated limbs is finely rendered, the love and consideration exhibited by the other sons of Noah are equally well expressed, and the attitudes of the latter are beautiful. The vine, the cask, with all the requisites of the vintage, are moreover exhibited, but with so much judgment and all so treated, that they do not impede the action of the story, but on the contrary increase its force and give it most appropriate ornament. For the fourth story of this compartment Lorenzo has chosen the appearance of the three angels in the valley of Mamre: these figures have a close resemblance to each other: the holy patriarch is seen in the act of adoration before his celestial visitors, his hands are folded, and the expression of his countenance is most life-like and appropriate. The servants with the ass, who are represented as awaiting Abraham at the foot of the mountain, whither he has gone to make the sacrifice of his son, are equally excellent. Isaac stands naked on the altar, while the father, with upraised arm, is in the act of proving his obedience, when he is prevented by the angel, who arrests his arm with one hand, while he points with the other to the animal which he is to offer in sacrifice, and thus delivers Isaac from death. This story is of a truth exceedingly beautiful, and among other matters worthy of observation is the great difference between the delicate limbs of Isaac and those of the more robust servants, insomuch that there does not seem to have been a touch given which had not been calculated with the nicest exactitude and the most perfect knowledge of art. In the difficult matter of representing the buildings, Lorenzo appears to have surpassed himself in this work: the birth of Isaac's sons, Esau and Jacob, with the chase of the former, at the desire of his father, must also be particular-

ized: Jacob conducted by Rebecca, is offering the prepared kid, the skin of which his mother has wrapped around his throat, while Isaac stretches out his hands towards him and bestows the benediction: all these things are admirably represented; there are besides many beautiful dogs in this picture, and the figures of Isaac, of Jacob, and of Rebecca, must needs exhibit precisely the effect produced in their actual life.

Animated and exalted by the study of his art, its difficulties became daily more familiar to the master, and presented less formidable obstacles to his efforts, insomuch that he was constantly emboldened to new enterprises. His sixth compartment represents Joseph cast by his brethren into the well, and also his deliverance therefrom by the merchants, by whom he is presented to Pharaoh: the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream is likewise exhibited, with the precautions taken to provide for the years of famine and the honours rendered to Joseph by Pharaoh. Then follows the patriarch Jacob despatching his sons into Egypt for the purpose of buying corn, where, being recognised by Joseph, he causes them to return to their father. In this story Lorenzo displayed his mastery over the difficulties of perspective, in a circular temple, which is one of the objects; there are, besides, various figures differently occupied in loading corn and meal, with asses, which are also most naturally represented. The feast given by Joseph to his brethren, the concealment of the gold cup in the sack of Benjamin, its discovery, with the return of the travellers to Joseph, who makes himself known to and embraces his brethren—all these things are here shown, and this story, for the varied passions and affections pourtrayed in it, as well as for the many rich accessories, is considered to be the most remarkable, difficult, and beautiful of the whole work.

But Lorenzo was, of a truth, endowed with so fine a genius, and possessed so peculiar a grace in the execution of the figures here described, that when his mind became oc-

cupied in the composition of a beautiful story, he could not well do otherwise than produce exquisite forms; and this we may infer from the seventh compartment, which represents Mount Sinai, with Moses on the summit, receiving the Laws from God, and kneeling in adoration, with the appropriate expression of reverence: midway up the mountain is Joshua, who is awaiting the return of Moses, and the assembled people are gathered at the foot of the Mount, terrified by the thunders, lightnings, and earthquakes, and exhibiting an infinite variety of attitude, all represented with the utmost truth and nature. The master has also shown great love and diligence in the third compartment, wherein he has pourtrayed Joshua proceeding against Jericho, and causing the river Jordan to flow backwards. He has here represented twelve tents, for the twelve tribes, all full of highly animated figures: and still more beautiful are some others, in basso-rilievo, who are proceeding with the ark around the walls of the aforesaid city, when those walls are overthrown at the sound of the trumpets, and Jericho is taken by the Hebrews. In this picture the relief of the landscape is gradually lowered, so that the distance is increased with great judgment, and the true proportions of the first figures to the mountains, with those of the mountains to the city, and of the city to the distant country, are observed with infinite care, the degrees of relief being regulated with the nicest judgment, and the whole work conducted to the utmost perfection: the experience of the master, and his power in his art, increasing from day to day. In the ninth picture he has represented the Giant Goliath, with David, in a proud yet childlike attitude, who cuts off the Philistine's head, when the army of God destroys that of the pagan. Here the artist has represented horses, chariots, and all the other accessories appertaining to war. In another part is seen David returning with the head of Goliath in his hand, and received by the people, who meet him with songs and the sound of instruments, all pourtrayed with perfect truth and full of animation. There

now remained for Lorenzo to put forth all his strength for the tenth and last picture, where the Queen of Sheba, with a splendid retinue, pays her visit to King Solomon. Here there is a building drawn in perspective, and exceedingly fine, with a variety of figures similar to those in the previous stories. Nor less carefully and perfectly executed are the decorations of the architraves and the framework surrounding these doors, among which are fruits and festoons of foliage finished with the accustomed excellence of the master.

In this work, whether taken in detail or considered as a whole, we have proof of the wonders that may be accomplished by the fertile invention and practised ability of the sculptor, whether in full relief, in half relief, or in the low, and lowest relief; the effect he may produce in the composition of his work, by the disposition of his figures, and by variety of attitude in male and female forms; the rich effects to be derived from the judicious introduction of buildings, and due attention to the laws of perspective, with the grace that results from according their appropriate expression to each sex, and to the different ages, as we see done in this work, where, in the old we admire gravity, and in the young their beauty and graceful lightness. Wherefore it may be truly affirmed that this work is in all respects perfect, and is the most admirable production that has ever been seen in the world, whether ancient or modern. The justice of the praises bestowed on Lorenzo for this work may be inferred from the words of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who, standing to look at these doors, and being asked what he thought of them, and whether they were beautiful, replied in these words: — "*They are so beautiful, that they might fittingly stand at the gates of Paradise,*" a truly appropriate tribute, and offered by him who could well judge of the work. Well indeed might Lorenzo complete his undertaking successfully, since, from his twentieth year, wherein he commenced these doors, he laboured at them for forty years with a patience and indus-

try more than extreme, and beyond the power of words to express.[24]

Ghiberti was assisted in the completion and polishing of this work, after it had been cast, by many artists, then young men, who afterwards became excellent masters: by Filippo Brunelleschi, namely, by Masolino da Panicale, Niccolo Lamberti, both goldsmiths; by Parri Spinelli, Antonio Filarete, Paolo Uccello, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, who was then a youth, and by many others, who, labouring together at this work, and holding much conference respecting it, as will happen when people live together, acquired practice and knowledge, insomuch that they were labouring for themselves no less than for Lorenzo.[25] In addition to

[24] The casting of the second gate of Ghiberti was commenced in 1440; he had received the order in 1425; and the whole was completed, gilded, and placed in 1452, after twenty-seven years of labor. There are ten subjects: The Creation of Man; The Creation of Woman; The Temptation of Eve; The Expulsion from Paradise; The Story of Cain and Abel; The Story of Noah; The Story of Abraham; The Story of Isaac and Jacob; The Story of Joseph; Moses, and the Tables of the Law; Joshua before Jericho; David and Goliath; Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. "Around these," says Ghiberti himself in his commentary, "I have placed twenty-four statuettes in the cornice, and twenty-four busts between the friezes [more exactly twenty statuettes in niches and four recumbent allegorical figures of river gods]. . . . For the exterior frieze between the uprights and the hinges I have made a suitable ornament of leafage, birds, and animals, and upon the uprights a finely worked shallow ornamentation."

M. Müntz, in his *Primitifs*, notes that Ghiberti's statuettes in the bordering to his reliefs have "all the importance of real statues in their condensation of grace, poetry, and seduction." We may go farther and say that they possess these qualities in a much greater degree than do Lorenzo's large statues of Or San Michele; the sculptor had indeed, as says M. Müntz, "passed onward from the study of character and measure to that of beauty." Perkins in his Tuscan Sculptors, and M. Müntz in his Life of Donatello, both emphasize the fact that Ghiberti was really a maker of pictures in bronze, "a dangerous innovator," to be tolerated only because he was a great genius and because his bronze pictures were so beautiful that they entitled him "to be judged by an exceptional standard." Donatello's realism counteracted what was dangerous in Ghiberti, and the former's "juster perception of the true aims of sculpture save it," says Perkins, "from being submerged by the use of means which belong exclusively to the sister art of painting."

[25] It seems to be proved by Ghiberti's commentary that none of these except Paolo Uccello worked upon the second gates; on the other hand, Bernardo Cennini and Benozzo Gozzoli *did* assist Lorenzo.

Lorenzo Ghiberti. Baptistery Gates, San Giovanni, Florence.

the sum paid for the work by the consuls, Lorenzo Ghiberti received a good farm near the Badia di Settimo, as a gift from the Signoria;[26] nor did any long time elapse before he was himself received among the Signory, and honoured with a place in the supreme magistracy of the city.[27] On this occasion, therefore, the Florentines deserved praises for their gratitude, as they have well merited the reproach of unthankfulness towards the many excellent men with respect to whom the country has proved itself by no means grateful.

After this most stupendous work, Lorenzo undertook the bronze ornament of that door of the same church which is opposite to the Misericordia, with those admirably beautiful decorations of foliage which he did not survive to finish,[28] being unexpectedly overtaken by death when he was making his arrangements and had already nearly completed the model for reconstructing the door previously erected by Andrea Pisano. This model was suffered to be lost, but I saw it formerly, when I was but a youth, in Borgo Allegri, before the descendants of Lorenzo Ghiberti had permitted it to be ruined.

Lorenzo had a son called Bonaccorso,[29] who finished the decorations of foliage thus left incomplete by his father, with great zeal and diligence; and this ornament is one of the rarest and most beautiful specimens of work in bronze that can possibly be seen. Bonaccorso died young, and did not produce so many works as he most probably would have done, seeing that the secret of casting in such a manner that the work should succeed well and present an extreme delicacy of appearance, remained to him, as well as that of

[26] Milanesi quotes Baldinucci to the effect that Ghiberti himself paid for this farm.

[27] According to Del Migliore, though they were citizens and eligible to office, neither Lorenzo Ghiberti nor any of his descendants ever became Prior or held any great position.

[28] His son Vittorio aided him in this work. See also the Life of Pollajuolo.

[29] Lorenzo's son was Vittorio (1417–1496), a sculptor; Bonaccorso (who died 1516), also a sculptor, was his grandson.

perforating the metal in the mode observable in the works left by Lorenzo, who, to say nothing of his own performance, bequeathed many relics of antiquity to his family, some in marble, others in bronze. Among these was the bed of Polycletus, which was a most rare thing; a leg of bronze, of the size of life, with certain heads, male and female, and some vases, which Lorenzo had caused to be brought from Greece at no small cost. He also left the torsi of many figures, with a great number of similar things, which were all dispersed; and, like the property acquired by Lorenzo, suffered to be destroyed and squandered. Some of these antiquities were sold to Messer Giovanni Gaddi, then "Cherico di Camera," and among them was the aforesaid bed of Polycletus and some other matters, which formed the better part of the collection.

Bonaccorso left a son called Vittorio, who studied sculpture, but with very little success, as may be seen from the heads which he executed in the palace of the duke of Gravina, and which are not well done; this arose from the fact that he never devoted himself to his art with the love and diligence required to ensure success, but thought only of squandering the property and possessions of his father and grandfather. This Vittorio ultimately repaired to Ascoli, whither he had been summoned to serve as architect under Pope Paul III, and where he was murdered in the night by one of his servants, who had planned to rob him. Thus the family of Lorenzo Ghiberti became extinct, but not so his fame, which will endure to all eternity.

But let us return to our artist, during his lifetime he gave his attention to various branches of art, and took delight in painting and working in glass. It was by him that the rose-windows around the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore were made, one only excepted, that namely in which is represented Christ crowning the Virgin, and this is from the hand of Donato. The three windows above the principal door of Santa Maria del Fiore are likewise by Lorenzo

Ghiberti, with all those of the chapels and tribunes,[30] as well as the rose-window in the façade of Santa Croce. This master also made a window for the principal chapel of the capitular church of Arezzo ; on it is represented the Coronation of Our Lady, with two other figures, all which were done for Lazzaro di Feo[31] di Baccio, a very rich merchant of that city ; but as all these windows were made of Venetian glass of very dark colour, they tend rather to obscure than to enlighten the buildings wherein they are constructed. Lorenzo was appointed to assist Brunellesco, when the latter received the commission for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, but this arrangement was afterwards altered, as will be related in the life of that master. The same Lorenzo wrote a book in the vulgar-tongue, wherein he discoursed of many and various matters, but in such sort that but little profit can be derived from it. The only thing good that there is in the book, according to my judgment, is the fact, that after speaking of many ancient painters, more particularly of those cited by Pliny, he makes a brief mention of Cimabue, Giotto, and many others of those times, but this he does with much more brevity than was fitting, and that for no better reason than to give himself the opportunity of falling with a good grace into discourse concerning himself, and enumerating as he does, with the most minute description, all his own works one after another. Nor will I conceal that he seems to intimate that this book is made by others, but in the course of the work, discoursing of himself (like a man better versed in making designs, in working with his chisel, and in casting bronze than in the weaving of stories), he speaks in the first person, and says "I made," "I said," "I was doing," and "I was saying."[32]

[30] Ghiberti in his commentary tells us that he designed six round windows for the Duomo.

[31] The window made for Lazzaro di Giovanni di Feo de' Bracci has been destroyed.

[32] It is amusing to find Vasari criticising, in Ghiberti's confused use of the first and second person, the very same lack of discrimination from which he himself suffers.

Finally, having attained the sixty-fourth year of his life, Ghiberti was attacked by a violent and continuous fever, of which he died, leaving an eternal memorial of his existence in his works, as well as in the writings of authors: he was honourably interred in Santa Croce. The portrait of Lorenzo is on the principal bronze door of San Giovanni; it is seen in the centre when the doors are closed, among the decorations of the border; the head is bald, and beside this portrait of Ghiberti is that of Bartoluccio, his father; near them are the following words:—

"LAURENTII CIONIS DI GHIBERTIS MIRA ARTE FABRICATUM."[33]

The drawings of Lorenzo[34] are most excellent, and have

[33] Ghiberti made his will in 1455, and probably died within the twelvemonth, since we find Vittorio in the following year working alone at the gates. If born, as stated by Milanesi in his *Prospetto cronologico* in 1378, he was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death.

[34] Symonds in his Fine Arts (History of the Italian Renaissance) says of Ghiberti that "he came into the world to create a new and inimitable style of hybrid beauty." M. Müntz contrasts him with Donatello, who concentrated his strength, and "tried to solve the most arduous problems," while Lorenzo, scattering his strength, "was contented to please and to enchant." He believes that Ghiberti must have been the more popular artist of the two, and calls him "above all graceful, rather than powerful." Symonds dwells upon the fact that Ghiberti, though so passionate an admirer of the Greeks that he reckoned time by Olympiads, remained nevertheless "unaffectedly natural and in a true sense Christian," and that "the paganism of the Renaissance was a phrase with no more meaning for him than for that still more delicate Florentine spirit, Luca della Robbia." To the student of the evolution of sculpture the figures of Ghiberti upon his second gate are phenomenal; at the first glance one would imagine that they had been executed at a much later period of that evolution. They do not at first show the same evidence of belonging to a primitive epoch, an epoch of struggling upward growth, as do the works of Donatello. Side by side with the angular, robust figures of the latter, or the rounded boys and girls of Luca's organ tribune, Ghiberti's people of the bronze gates are so long and delicate and graceful, with a certain character of exquisiteness, that they appear to belong rather to a Praxitelean than to a Phidian epoch—to a second rather than to a first phase of evolution. They are marvellously precocious, pressing forward in advance of their times, so much that they would have been a dangerous precedent had not Donatello, who occupied his natural place in the art evolution, acted as their corrective. They are pictorial rather than sculptural, but are so beautiful and so different from the works of other men that Ghiberti will always

much relief, as may be seen in our book of collected designs, from an Evangelist by his hand, as well as from some other figures in chiaro-scuro, which are truly beautiful.[35]

remain to us as one of the four or five most individual sculptors of the Renaissance, and as one of the supreme masters of pictorial composition, affording a precedent (thinks Charles Blanc) even to Raphael.

[35] There are portrait heads of both Ghiberti and Bartoluccio upon the second gate of the Baptistery.

MASOLINO DA PANICALE, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born 1383; died probably in 1447.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—F. G. Knudtzon, *Masaccio og den Florentinske Malerkonst paa hans Tid*, Copenhagen, 1875. Masaccio, Karl Woltman, in the English edition of the Dohme series, London, 1880. A. H. Layard, The Brancacci Chapel and Masolino, Masaccio and Filippino Lippi; printed for the Arundel Society, 1868. *Zeitschrift, f. b. K.*, XL., 225.

THE happiness of those who approach the highest point of the science in which they labour to attain perfection, must in my opinion be very great, more especially when, in addition to the satisfaction assured to all who strive conscientiously, they perceive themselves to derive some benefit from their labours. Such men, without doubt, lead a most peaceful and happy life. And if it happen that one whose days are thus occupied in the upright endeavour to reach the true end of his existence and acquire the perfection to which he aspires, should be suddenly surprised by death, yet his memory does not become wholly extinct, if he have indeed meritoriously striven to advance on the true path. Therefore every one should do his utmost to reach perfection, for even though he should be cut off in the midst of his career, his fame will be secured and he will receive

[1] The facts in the life of Masolino have become so entangled with those in the career of Masaccio that it is nearly impossible to separate them, but recent criticism has undertaken the task with enthusiasm and some success, aided especially by the discovery of the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona. Masolino toward 1423 entered the service of Filippo Scolari, the Florentine adventurer, and Obergespann of Temeswar, in Hungary. He stayed for some time in that country, and on his return to Italy, towards 1427, settled in Lombardy, where he probably died. Milanesi has found in the Burial Books of Florence that a Tommaso di Cristofano was buried October 18, 1440, in S. Maria del Fiore; this may or may not have been Masolino. In his heading Milanesi gives 1447 as the probable date of his decease.

praise, if not for the works that he has been unable to finish, yet certainly for the upright intention and earnest study which will be perceived and acknowledged in the little that he may have completed. Masolino da Panicale of Valdelsa,[2] was a disciple of Lorenzo di Bartoluccio Ghiberti,[3] and in his early years was a very good worker in gold: among all those who assisted Lorenzo in the labour of the doors of San Giovanni, Masolino was the most efficient as respected the draperies of the figures, in the finishing of which he displayed great ability and an excellent manner: in the use of the chisel also his intelligence and judgment was evinced in the softness and perfection of roundness which he imparted to the human form, as well as to the vestments. At the age of nineteen Masolino attached himself to painting,[4] and to this art his life was ever afterwards devoted: he acquired the principles of colouring under Gherardo della Starnina, and having repaired to Rome for the purpose of studying there, he painted the hall of the ancient palace[5] of the Orsini family in Monte Giordano, while dwelling in that city. But his health being injured by the air of Rome, which

[2] Tommaso, called Masolino (Little Tom), son of Cristoforo di Fino, was born at Colle di Val d'Elsa, in 1383, and enrolled January 18, 1423, in the *Arte de' Medici e Speziali*, the guild upon which the lesser guild of painters depended. Milanesi affirms these dates positively and they are accepted by other writers, but in view of the fact that Masolino was born in 1383, the date given for his matriculation seems an extraordinarily late one.

[3] Here Vasari evidently confounded Masolino with Tommaso di Cristoforo di Braccio, a goldsmith who worked on Ghiberti's gates. Recent researches render it probable that Masolino was apprenticed to Starnina.

[4] According to M. Eug. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) the first works of Masolino known to us (attributed by Vasari to Masaccio) are some frescoes in a chapel of the church of St. Clement at Rome. They represent four scenes from the life of an unknown saint, a Crucifixion and stories from the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, an Annunciation, the Evangelists, and the Fathers of the Church. Herr Franz Wickhoff, *Die Fresken in der Capelle der Heil. Katharina in San Clemente zu Rom* (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIV. *fasc.* 12), says that Masolino was here evidently influenced by Pisanello's frescoes in the Lateran (1432), and that therefore these works in San Clemente postdate instead of antedate Masolino's paintings of Castiglione d'Olona.

[5] These frescoes were long ago destroyed. Vasari in another place has credited them to Tommaso, called Giottino.

painfully affected his head, he returned to Florence, where, in the church of the Carmine, he painted the figure of San Piero beside the chapel of the Crucifixion, a work which is still to be seen in that place.[6] This San Piero was greatly commended by contemporary artists, and caused Masolino to receive a commission for painting the chapel of the Brancacci family, in the same church. Here he depicted stories from the life of St. Peter, and part of these he completed with equal zeal and success: the four Evangelists on the ceiling, namely, the story of Christ calling Andrew and Peter from their nets, that which depicts the repentance of the latter for the sin he had committed in denying his master, and the preaching of the same apostle for the conversion of the Gentiles. By Masolino is likewise the story representing the shipwreck of the Apostles, with that of St. Peter raising his daughter Petronilla from the dead, and in this he pourtrayed the last-named apostle going with St. John to the temple, and finding the sick beggar in the portico, whom, when he implored an alms, not being able to bestow either gold or silver, St. Peter liberates from his infirmity by making the sign of the cross. All the figures of this work are painted in a very grand manner and with much grace: they exhibit, moreover, great softness and harmony in the colouring, with considerable force of design. The entire work was infinitely admired for much in it that was new, many considerations having been kept in view by Masolino, which were wholly foreign to the manner of Giotto; but this undertaking remained incomplete, because the master was overtaken by death.[7]

[6] Destroyed in 1675.

[7] There has been much controversy regarding the works of Masolino in the Brancacci chapel, especially since the discovery of his authenticated frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona. Crowe and Cavalcaselle comparing these two series doubt the attribution of the Brancacci frescoes to Masolino, and have assigned the upper wall paintings to Masaccio. M. Müntz, Woltmann, and others pronounce unhesitatingly for Masolino, and the balance of criticism is now decidedly in his favor. Three *lunettes* have lost their decorations, which were the Calling of Peter, Peter's Denial, and the Barque of Peter. These frescoes of Masolino, painted probably about 1425, in the Brancacci chapel, are, in their

Masolino da Panicale was a man of admirable genius, and his works, which it is manifest that he executed throughout with infinite love and care, are distinguished by their harmony and facility. His too zealous study and the fatigues to which he perpetually subjected himself, so weakened his frame that confirmed ill health ensued: his life was prematurely terminated, and the world was cruelly deprived of this master while he was still but at the early age of thirty-seven:[8] thus were cut short the hopes and expectations which had been conceived by all from his labours. The paintings of Masolino da Panicale date about the year 1440.

Paolo Schiavo,[9] who painted the figure of the Virgin at the corner of the Gori,[10] took great pains to imitate the

more developed technique, their more realistic drawing, and in their linear perspective, an astonishing advance upon anything by the *Giotteschi*. Here art entered the modern path which Masaccio was to tread so soon and so surely, developing these very qualities of Masolino, qualities of naturalness, simplicity, gravity, but departing from the earlier painter's woodenness, and ennobling a style which already in Masolino's best figures became dignified and even stately.

M. E. Müntz, in *Les Primitifs*, says: "As Masolino grows older this seeking after style is more and more sacrificed to vivacity of expression and to dramatic animation." See the frescoes recently discovered, or rather uncovered, and freed from whitewash in the choir of the Collegiate Church of Castiglione d'Olona in the province of Como, between Tradate and Varese. These represent upon the walls scenes from the acts of SS. Lawrence and Stephen, and on the vaulting stories from the life of the Virgin. In the Baptistery are the acts of St. John, frescoes considered to be perhaps seven years later in date than those in the church, and also attributed to Masolino, together with the figures of the four Evangelists upon the vaulting. M. Müntz praises especially the episodical side of these frescoes, but finds the representatives of the Evangelists and Fathers of the Church mannered and poor. According to Milanesi these latter frescoes of the Baptistery are dated 1435, and the same author considers that the paintings of the Collegiate Church were executed before 1428. Dr. Richter feels convinced that the Castiglione d'Olona frescoes present precisely the same characteristics as those seen in the wall-paintings of the Brancacci, which are attributed to Masolino, and he does not notice the growing sacrifice of style to expression which M. Müntz asserts. The Danish critic, Knudtzon, even declares boldly (see Life of Masaccio) that the frescoes of Castiglione were executed before 1423, antedating the Brancacci works.

[8] Fifty-seven.

[9] Paolo di Stefano, called Paolo Schiavo (by cognomen Badaloni), died in Pisa in 1478.

[10] The corner now called Canto de' Nelli.

manner of Masolino. I have frequently examined the works of the latter very carefully, and find his manner essentially different from that of those who preceded him. He imparted much dignity to his figures, with great freedom to the draperies, which he caused to flow gracefully in rich folds. His heads, also, are greatly superior to those painted by earlier masters, since he has given more life and movement to the eyes, with increased beauty to many other parts of the human frame. He began also to have a clearer perception of what is required for the successful management of light and shadow; gave his figures considerable relief, and effected many very difficult foreshortenings. Of this we see an instance, among others, in the Beggar who implores alms of St. Peter, and the leg of whom, bent backwards, is admirably treated. Masolino likewise began to impart an expression of sweetness to his female heads, with a grace and elegance to the draperies of young men, which were not attained by the elder masters, and the perspective of his drawing is tolerably correct. But the peculiarity which most distinguished Masolino was the beauty of his fresco paintings: these he executed most admirably, the colours being so delicately blended and harmonized, that his carnations* have all the softness which it is possible to imagine; insomuch that if he had possessed the power of drawing perfectly, as he most probably would have done had he been granted a longer life, this master would have deserved to be numbered among the best;[11] his works being

* *Carnagioni* means flesh tones and not carnations.

[11] Until within a few years Masaccio was held to be an absolutely phenomenal painter, appearing like a comet suddenly and unannounced. This situation, incompatible with the history of art, which is the record of an evolution, has been resolved by recent research and we now have as links in a continuous chain, Antonio Veneziano, who is still a *Giottesco*, then Gherardo Starnina (1354–1408), who prepares the way for his great pupil, and finally Masolino, the direct genesis of Masaccio. With Masolino begins the series of those grand though wooden figures which appear in the pictures of Paolo Uccello, Andrea dal Castagno, and Piero della Francesca, figures a whole world removed in their science of design from the people of the *Giotteschi*, yet still somewhat rigid, staring, and always imperturbably solemn. These painters

executed gracefully, in a grand manner, with softness and harmony in the colouring, and much relief and force in the drawing, although this last is not in all respects perfect.

are the naturalists, and their science of design and of linear perspective unites with grandeur of sentiment in Piero della Francesca, and in Masaccio combines with nobility of feeling, sense of color, atmosphere, and lofty power of composition, to produce the greatest painter between Giotto and Raphael.

The portrait of Masolino is believed to be in the fresco of St. Peter and St. John Healing the Sick (in the Brancacci chapel); it is the figure in the red cap to the right of St. Peter. Vasari used it to illustrate his biography of the painter.

MASACCIO, PAINTER OF SAN GIOVANNI DI VALDARNO[1]

[Born 1401; died 1428.]

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WHEN nature has called into existence a genius of surpassing excellence in any vocation, it is not her custom to leave him alone: on the contrary, she for the most part gives life to another, created at the same time and in the same locality, whence the emulation of each is excited and they mutually serve as stimulants one to the other. And this, in addition to the great advantage derived from it by them who, thus united, make their efforts in common, has the further effect of awakening the minds of those who come after them, and who are excited to labour with the utmost zeal and industry for the attainment of that glorious reputation and those honours which they daily hear ascribed to their distinguished predecessors; and that this is true we find proved by the fact that Florence produced at one and the same time Filippo, Donato, Lorenzo, Paolo Uccello, and Masaccio, each most excellent in his peculiar walk, and all contributing to banish the coarse and hard manner which had pre-

[1] Tommaso di Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, called Masaccio.

vailed up to the period of their existence; nor was this all, for the minds of those who succeeded these masters were so effectually inflamed by their admirable works, that the modes of production in these arts were brought to that grandeur and height of perfection which were made manifest in the performances of our own times. We then, of a truth, have the greatest obligation to those masters who by their labours first taught us the true path by which to attain the highest summit of perfection; and as touching the good manner in painting, most especially are we indebted to Masaccio,[2] since it was he who, eager for the acquirement of fame, first attained the clear perception that painting is no other than the close imitation, by drawing and colouring simply, of all the forms presented by nature, exhibiting them as they are produced by her, and that whosoever shall most perfectly effect this, may be said to have most nearly approached the summit of excellence.[3] The conviction of this truth formed by Masaccio was the cause, I say, of his attaining to so much knowledge by means of perpetual study, that he may be accounted among the first by whom art was in a great measure delivered from rudeness and hardness: he it was who taught the method of overcoming many difficulties, and led the way to the adoption of those beautiful attitudes and movements never exhibited by any painter before his day, while he also imparted a life and force to his figures with a certain roundness and relief, which render them truly characteristic and natural. Possessing extreme rectitude of judgment, Masaccio perceived that all figures not sufficiently foreshortened to appear standing firmly on the plane whereon they are placed, but

[2] No painter has been the subject of more controversy than Masaccio. Vasari's life is full of contradictions, and even the most recent critics differ in their attributions of his various works.

[3] Leonardo da Vinci seems to have been the first one to point out the merits of Masaccio. See The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci by Dr. Richter, I. 332. The earliest mention of Masaccio is in a MS. notice of the celebrated Florentines of the fifteenth century; the latter was first referred to by Milanesi, who attributed it to Antonio Manetti.

reared up on the points of their feet, must needs be deprived of all grace and excellence in the most important essentials, and that those who so represent them prove themselves unacquainted with the art of foreshortening. It is true that Paolo Uccello had given his attention to this subject, and had done something in the matter, which did to a certain extent lessen the difficulty; but Masaccio, differing from him in various particulars, managed his foreshortenings with much greater ability, exhibiting his mastery of this point in every kind and variety of view, and succeeding better than any artist had done before him. He moreover imparted extreme softness and harmony to his paintings, and was careful to have the carnations * of the heads and other nude parts in accordance with the colours of the draperies, which he represented with few and simple folds, as they are seen in the natural object. This has been of the utmost utility to succeeding artists, and Masaccio deserves to be considered the inventor of that manner, since it may be truly affirmed that the works produced before his time should be called paintings; but that his performance, when compared with those works, might be designated life, truth, and nature.

The birth-place of this master was Castello San Giovanni, in the Valdarno, and it is said that some figures are still to be seen there which were executed by Masaccio in his earliest childhood.[4] He was remarkably absent and careless of externals, as one who, having fixed his whole mind and thought on art, cared little for himself or his personal interests, and meddled still less with the affairs of others; he could by no means be induced to bestow his attention on the cares of the world and the general interests of life, insomuch that he would give no thought to his clothing, nor

* See text note page 226.

[4] Masaccio's father was the notary Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi. As Masaccio was born on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle he was named Tommaso. In the year 1421, or possibly 1423, Masaccio was enrolled in the guild of the *speziali*, or druggists, in Florence, and in 1424 in the guild of painters.

was he ever wont to require payment from his debtors, until he was first reduced to the extremity of want; and for all this, instead of being called Tommaso, which was his name, he received from every one the cognomen of Masaccio,[5] by no means for any vice of disposition, since he was goodness itself, but merely from his excessive negligence and disregard of himself; for he was always so friendly to all, so ready to oblige and do service to others, that a better or kinder man could not possibly be desired.

Masaccio's first labours in art were commenced at the time when Masolino da Panicale was working at the chapel[6] of the Brancacci, in the church of the Carmine, at Florence: and he sought earnestly to follow in the track pursued by Donato and Filippo Brunelleschi (although their branch of art, being sculpture, was different from his own), his efforts being perpetually directed to the giving his figures a life and animation which should render them similar to nature. The outlines and colouring of Masaccio are so different from those of the masters preceding him, that his works may be safely brought in comparison with the drawing and colouring of any produced in later times. Studious and persevering in his labours, this artist successfully coped with the difficulties of perspective, which he overcame most admirably and with true artistic skill, as may be seen in a story representing Christ curing a man possessed by a demon, which comprises a number of small figures and is

[5] Big, awkward, stupid, ugly, or hateful Tom, according to the degree of disapproval which was expressed. *Maso* is obtained from Tommaso, which is clipped of its first syllable. The name of Masolino is also derived from Tommaso, and conveys the idea of endearment; literally it is "Little Tom."

[6] It was believed that Masolino and Masaccio were born almost at the same time; recent researches prove that Masolino sufficiently antedated Masaccio to have left pictures for the latter to complete, and to have set him the example of somewhat earlier work. There is much controversy as to whether Masaccio was the pupil of Masolino. Whether the two artists can or cannot be proved to have occupied the direct relation of master and pupil is still an open question; if, however, Masolino painted at all in the Brancacci chapel, he became perforce and by his chronological relation to Masaccio the teacher of the latter.

now in the possession of Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo.[7] In this work are buildings beautifully drawn in perspective, and so treated that the inside is seen at the same time, the artist having taken the view of these buildings not as presented in front, but as seen in the sides and angles, to the great increase of the difficulty.[8] Masaccio gave much more attention than had ever been bestowed by previous masters to the foreshortening of his figures and the treatment of the naked form: he had great facility of handling, and his figures, as we have said, were of the utmost simplicity. There is a picture in distemper by this master, representing Our Lady reposing in the lap of St. Anna, and holding the divine Child in her arms: it is now in Sant' Ambrogio, in Florence, in the chapel which stands next to the door leading to the parlour of the nuns.[9] In the church of St. Nicholas, beyond the Arno, is also a picture by Masaccio: it is in distemper and represents the Annunciation, with a house and many columns, admirably painted in perspective. The design and colouring are alike perfect, and the whole is so managed that the colonnade gradually recedes from view in a manner which proves Masaccio's knowledge of perspective.[10]

In the Abbey of Florence, Masaccio painted a fresco on a pillar opposite to one of those which support the arch of the high altar; this represents St. Ivo of Brittany, whom the master figures as standing within a niche, that the feet might appear duly foreshortened to the spectator viewing it from below: a thing which obtained him no small commendation, as not having been so successfully practised by other masters. Beneath St. Ivo, and on the cornice below, is a crowd of beggars, widows, and orphans, to whom the saint affords help in their necessity.[11] In the church of Santa

[7] The fate of these figures is unknown.

[8] He advanced greatly, not only in the practice of linear perspective, but also in that of atmospheric perspective.

[9] Now in the Florentine Academy.

[10] This picture has disappeared.

[11] Destroyed in the modernizing of the church.

Maria Novella there is likewise a fresco, painted by Masaccio ;[12] it represents the Trinity, with the Virgin on one side, and St. John the Evangelist on the other, who are in contemplation of Christ crucified. This picture is over the altar of St. Ignatius, and on the side walls are two figures, supposed to be the portraits of those who caused the fresco to be painted ; but they are little seen, having been concealed by some gilded decorations appended over them. But perhaps the most beautiful part of this work, to say nothing of the excellence of the figures, is the coved ceiling, painted in perspective, and divided into square compartments, with a rosette in each compartment ; the foreshortening is managed with so much ability, and the whole is so judiciously treated, that the surface has all the appearance of being perforated.

In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in a chapel near the side door which leads towards San Giovanni, is a picture painted by Masaccio, and representing the Madonna, with Santa Caterina, and San Giuliano. On the predella are various stories from the life of Santa Caterina, the figures being very small ; with that of San Giuliano killing his father and mother. The Birth of Christ is also depicted here with that simplicity and life-like truth which were peculiar to the manner of this master.[13] In Pisa, moreover, and in one of the chapels in the church of the Carmine, is a picture by this master, representing Our Lady with the Child, and at their feet are angels sounding instruments of music ; one of whom is giving the most rapt attention to the harmony he is producing. St. Peter and St. John the Baptist are on one side of the Virgin, with San Giuliano and San Niccolo on the other. These figures are all full of truth and animation. On the predella beneath, are stories

[12] The work was for a long time concealed under a picture by Vasari, which has been removed. The work of Masaccio has been restored, and may still be seen in Santa Maria Novella upon the interior west wall near the main door ; its authenticity has been questioned.

[13] These works have all perished.

from the lives of the above-named saints in small figures,[14] and in the centre of these is the Adoration of Christ by the Magi. This part of the work presents horses full of life, and so beautiful that nothing better could be desired. The persons composing the court of the three kings are clothed in different vestments customary at that time; and over all, as a completion to the work, are various saints, in several compartments, placed around a crucifix. It is moreover believed that the figure of a saint, wearing the robes of a bishop, and painted in fresco, in the same church, beside the door which leads into the convent, is also by the hand of Masaccio; but I am fully convinced that this is the work of Masaccio's disciple, Fra Filippo.

Having returned from Pisa to Florence, Masaccio there painted a picture, which is now in the Palla Rucellai palace:[15] it presents two naked figures, male and female, of the size of life: but not finding himself at his ease in Florence,[16] and stimulated by his love and zeal for art, the master resolved to proceed to Rome, that he might there learn to surpass others, and this he effected. In Rome Masaccio acquired high reputation, and in a chapel of the church of San Clemente,[17] he painted a Crucifixion in fresco, with the thieves on their crosses, and also stories from the life of St. Catherine the martyr. This work he executed

[14] Dal Morrona, quoted by Milanesi, declares that these pictures have perished; but three panels in the Berlin Gallery are believed by Dr. Bode and Herr Von Fabriczy to be from this *predella*. They are: The Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion of Peter, and the Decollation of St. John. They formerly belonged to the Capponi family in Florence, and are, if genuine, the only known panels by this master.

[15] The fate of this picture is unknown.

[16] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that it was the plague which drove Masaccio out of Florence.

[17] These frescoes, which still exist, have been attributed to Giotto (!), Masaccio, and Masolino. Knudtzon, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle refer them to Masaccio. Still later criticism, with which M. Müntz and Dr. Richter concur, assigns them to Masolino of Panicale. (See the life of the latter.) These frescoes were probably executed between 1411 and 1420; now during this time the cardinalate of San Clemente was in the possession of Branda da Castiglione, who was the patron of Masolino at Castiglione d'Olona.

for the cardinal of San Clemente. He likewise painted many pictures in distemper; but in the troubled times of Rome these have all been destroyed or lost. There is one remaining in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in a small chapel near the sacristy, wherein are four saints so admirably done that they seem rather to be executed in relief than on the plain surface: in the midst of these is Santa Maria della Neve.[18] The portrait of Pope Martin, taken from nature, is also by this master: the pontiff is represented holding a spade in his hand, with which he is tracing out the foundations of the church;[19] near the pope stands the figure of the Emperor Sigismund II. I was one day examining that work with Michael Angelo Buonarotti, when he praised it very highly, remarking at the same time that the two personages depicted had both lived in Masaccio's day. Whilst this master was in Rome he was appointed to adorn the walls of the church of San Giovanni in that city, Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano being also employed by Pope Martin to decorate the walls of the same edifice with their paintings.[20] But Masaccio having received intelligence that Cosmo de' Medici, from whom he had received favour and protection, had been recalled from exile,[21] again repaired to Florence; there, Masolino da Panicale being dead, Masaccio was appointed to continue the paintings of the Brancacci chapel,[22] in the church of the Car-

[18] It is not definitely known whether all these works should be referred to Masaccio's first or second visit to Rome.

[19] M. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) claims that two pictures in the Museum of Naples (one of which has been photographed with the attribution to Gentile da Fabriano) are certainly identical with the pictures of Santa Maria Maggiore mentioned by Vasari. Milanesi affirming that Masaccio was dead at the time that Sigismondo was crowned in Rome, attributes the pictures painted in Sta. Maria Maggiore to Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino.

[20] This collaboration is doubtful. See M. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*.

[21] This is an error. Cosmo did not return from exile until 1434, or after the death of Masaccio.

[22] The problem of whether Masolino or Masaccio painted the upper frescoes of the Brancacci chapel is a puzzling, interesting, and important one. If the former did, we have in him a direct and satisfactory genesis of Masaccio, and,

mine, left unfinished, as we have said, by the death of Masolino.[23] Before entering on this work, our artist painted, as if by way of specimen, and to show to what ex-

as art is evolution, such a genesis seems absolutely necessary. Most of the advanced critics appear ready to accept this work as Masolino's, and thus to account for Masaccio and for one of the three greatest steps made in the evolution of painting. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are almost the only opponents to Masolino's authorship in the Brancacci frescoes. They claim, first, that these latter differ widely from Masolino's authenticated frescoes at Castiglione; secondly, that the difference between *The Cure at the Temple Gate* (accredited to Masolino) and the *Tribute Money* (by Masaccio) does not infer more rapid progress than would be quite possible to one and the same artist, developing as he advanced in his work. They give as an example Raphael's Dispute over the Sacrament and Liberation of Peter, claiming that the development and increased largeness of style in the latter here equal the progress seen in the Brancacci frescoes. This does not seem a wholly successful example. The Dispute and the Liberation are more like each other than are the Cripple's Cure and the Tribute Money. On the other hand they argue well in affirming that the nude in the three frescoes, The Fall (Masolino), the Expulsion (Masaccio), and the Baptism (Masaccio), is only the regular development in three stages of what would be quite possible to the same artist. But Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also attribute to Masaccio those frescoes in San Clemente at Rome which so greatly suggest the technique of Masolino as shown at Castiglione. Comparison of the Castiglione and Brancacci frescoes will show that if there is a stately solemnity in the latter not found in the former, there are, nevertheless, resemblances of a most striking character, and in comparing the figure which stands at the right of Herod's table (Castiglione) with the two young Florentines in the Cripple's Cure, it is difficult not to accept the opinion of M. Müntz, M. Lafenestre, and many modern critics, that the Curing of the Cripple, the Raising of Tabitha, and the frescoes of Castiglione are by one and the same man. One of the most formidable opponents of the views of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle is the Danish writer Knudtzon, who brings forward a new chronological arrangement. He states that Masolino painted the frescoes in the choir of the church at Castiglione before the year 1423, or before he was admitted to the Florentine guild. Masolino was engaged on the Brancacci chapel in 1425 and 1427–28, therefore the finer frescoes in Florence would be more recent than the frescoes at Castiglione, which are somewhat feebler. Herr Förster very ingeniously hit upon the device of assuming that there were two artists of the name of Masolino, one born in 1383, who worked at Castiglione d'Olona, and the other, born in 1403, who worked with Masaccio in the Brancacci; but as Herr Woltmann remarks, there is always something improbable in such doubling of names, an expedient which in the history of Greek art has generally had to be abandoned. See Knudtzon's *Masaccio*, Förster's *Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst.*, and Woltmann's *Masaccio*. Herr Thausing also disputes the views of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in the *Zeitschrift f. b. Kunst.*, XI. 225.

[23] Masolino outlived Masaccio many years.

tent he had ameliorated his art, that figure of St. Paul[24] which stands near the place of the bell-ropes; and it is certain that the master displayed great excellence in this work for the figure * of the saint, which is the portrait of Bartolo di Angiolino Angiolini, taken from the life, has something in it so impressive, and is so beautiful and life-like, that it seems to want nothing but speech; insomuch that he who has not known St. Paul has but to look at this picture, when he will at once behold the noble deportment of him who conjoined the Roman culture and eloquence with that invincible force which distinguished the exalted and devout character of this apostle, whose every care and thought were given to the affairs of the faith. In this picture Masaccio also afforded further proof of his mastery over the difficulties of foreshortening: the powers of this artist as regards that point were indeed truly wonderful, as may be seen even now in the feet of this apostle, where he has overcome the difficulty in a manner that may well be admired, when we consider the rude ancient fashion of placing all the figures on the points of their feet; and this manner was persisted in even to his day, not having been fully corrected by the older artists; he it was who (earlier than any other master) brought this point of art to the perfection which it has attained in our own times.

While Masaccio was employed on this work, it chanced that the aforesaid church of the Carmine was consecrated,[25] and in memory of that event Masaccio painted the whole ceremony of the consecration as it had occurred, in chiaroscuro, over the door within the cloister which leads into the convent.[26] In this work which was in "Terra-verde," the

* The Italian word *testa* means head.

[24] The St. Paul was painted on a pilaster of the Capella de' Serragli. This figure, according to Bottari, was destroyed in 1675, when the Andrea Corsini chapel was begun.

[25] Consecrated April 19, 1422, by Archbishop Amerigo Corsini.

[26] Bocchi in *Delle Bellezze di Firenze*, Edition of 1671, p. 337, states that the work was not destroyed but had been concealed by a wall built during some alterations in the seventeenth century. Mr. Kirkup, of whom we have spoken in the life of Giotto, was convinced that this work lay under the whitewash. He

master painted the portraits of a great number of the citizens who make part of the procession, clothed in hoods and mantles; among these figures were those of Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, in "zoccoli,"[27] Donatello, Masolino da Panicale, who had been his master, Antonio Brancacci,[28] for whom it was that the above-mentioned chapel was painted, Niccolo da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, and Bartolommeo Valori, all of whose portraits, painted by the same artist, are also in the house of Simon Corsi, a Florentine gentleman.[29] Masaccio likewise placed the portrait of Lorenzo Ridolfi, who was then ambassador from the Florentine republic to the republic of Venice, among those of the picture of the consecration; and not only did he therein depict the above-named personages from the life, but the door of the convent is also pourtrayed as it stood, with the porter holding the keys in his hand. This work has, of a truth, much in it that is very excellent, Masaccio having found means to marshal his figures so admirably well on the level space of that piazza, in ranges of five or six in a file, and they are gradually diminished to the eye with such judgment and truth of proportion, that it is truly wonderful. There is also to be remarked that he has had the forethought to make these men not all of one size, but differing, as in life; insomuch that one distinguishes the short and stout man from the tall and slender figures, as one would if they were living. The feet of all are planted firmly on the plane they occupy, and the foreshortening of the files is so perfect that they could not look otherwise in the actual life.[30]

obtained permission to remove a portion of this and found the fresco, which however is almost wholly effaced. One of the figures is supposed to represent Giovanni de' Medici (1360–1429). Layard in his work on the Brancacci chapel (1869) denied that the fresco uncovered represented the consecration of the church, but in his edition of Kugler (1887) he corrects his mistake.

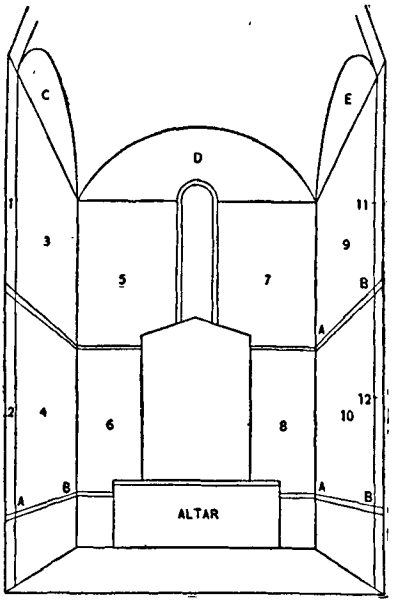
[27] Wooden Shoes.

[28] This chapel was built early in the fifteenth century by Felice Michele di Piuvichese Brancacci. Milanesi quotes Felice's will of June 26, 1422. See Milanesi, II. 296.

[29] These portraits are lost, except that of Giovanni. See note 26.

[30] Lanzi believed that he had recognized in the possession of a professor of the University at Pavia an original design for this work.

After this Masaccio returned to the works of the Brancacci chapel,[31] wherein he continued the stories from the life of St. Peter, commenced by Masolino da Panicale, of



which he completed a certain part.[32] The installation of St. Peter as first pontiff, that is to say, the healing of the sick, the raising to life of the dead, and the making the

[31] The whole cycle covers a large part of the life of the Apostle Peter, though there is no regular arrangement of the events, and the series is not complete. The Adam and Eve represent the old Covenant, and the Evangelists, originally on the ceiling, symbolize the new.

[32] The numbers in the list correspond with those on the plan. Authorities differ somewhat in regard to the authors of the various frescoes. In the list the probable painter, according to the latest criticism, is given first, while the name of the artist to whom the picture was formerly, and in some cases still is, ascribed, is put in brackets. 1. The Expulsion from Paradise—Masaccio [Masolino]. 2. Peter in Prison Visited by Paul—Filippino Lippi [Masaccio]. 3. The Tribute Money—Masaccio [Masolino]. 4. *A.* The Resurrection of the Child by Peter—Filippino Lippi and Masaccio. *B.* St. Peter Enthroned—Ma-

halt sound, by the shadow of the apostle falling on them as he approaches the temple with St. John. But remarkable above all the rest is the story which represents St. Peter, when, by command of Christ, he draws money to pay the tribute from the mouth of the fish; for besides that we have here the portrait of Masaccio himself, in the figure of one of the apostles (the last painted by his own hand, with the aid of a mirror, and so admirably done that it seems to live and breathe :) there is, moreover, great spirit in the figure of St. Peter as he looks inquiringly towards Jesus, while the attention given by the apostles to what is taking place, as they stand around their master awaiting his determination, is expressed with so much truth, and their various attitudes and gestures are so full of animation, that they seem to be those of living men. Peter more particularly, bent forward and making considerable effort as he draws the money from the mouth of the fish, has his face reddened with the exertion and position. When he pays the tribute also, the expression of his face as he carefully counts the money, with that of him who receives it, and which last betrays an excessive eagerness to become possessed of it; all this is depicted with the most vivid truth, the latter regarding the coins which he holds in his hand with the greatest pleasure. Masaccio also depicted the restoration to life of the king's son by St. Peter and St. Paul,[33]

saccio and Filippino Lippi. 5. Preaching of Peter—Masaccio [Masolino]. 6. Peter and John Curing the Sick—Masaccio. 7. Peter Baptizing—Masaccio. 8. Peter and John Distribute Alms—Masaccio. 9. A. Healing of the Cripple — Masolino [Masaccio]. B. The Raising of Tabitha — Masolino [Masaccio]. 10. *A.* Martyrdom of Peter—Filippino Lippi. *B.* Peter and Paul Accused before the Proconsul—Filippino Lippi. 11. The Fall of Adam and Eve—Masolino [Masaccio, Filippino Lippi]. 12. The Liberation of Peter by the Angel—Filippino Lippi. The pictures in the *lunettes* C, D, E are destroyed. The titles of some of the pictures are disputed; see Eastlake's Kugler, second edition, p. 194. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attempt to prove that Masolino did not paint any of the frescoes *at present existing* in the chapel; their argument is not convincing and is referred to in detail in note 22. The frescoes of Filippino Lippi were painted in 1484.

[33] The subject of this picture appears to have been taken from the *Legenda aurea.*

but this last work remained unfinished at the death of Masaccio, and was afterwards completed by Filippino. In the picture which represents St. Peter administering the rite of Baptism, there is a figure which has always been most highly celebrated: it is that of a naked youth, among those who are baptized, and who is shivering with the cold. This is in all respects so admirable and in so fine a manner, that it has ever since been held in reverence and admiration by all artists, whether of those times or of a later period. This chapel has indeed been continually frequented by an infinite number of students and masters, for the sake of the benefit to be derived from these works, in which there are still some heads so beautiful and life-like, that we may safely affirm no artist of that period to have approached so nearly to the manner of the moderns as did Masaccio. His works do indeed merit all the praise they have received, and the rather as it was by him that the path was opened to the excellent manner prevalent in our own times; to the truth of which we have testimony in the fact that all the most celebrated sculptors and painters since Masaccio's day have become excellent and illustrious by studying their art in this chapel.[34] Among these may be enumerated Fra Giovanni da Fiesole,[35] Fra Filippo, Filippino, who completed the work; Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea del Castagna, Andrea del Verrocchio, Domenico del Ghirlandajo, Sandro di Botticello, Leonardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco, Mariotti Albertinelli, and the sublime Michael Angelo Buonarrotti.[36] Raphael of Urbino also made his

[34] The history of Italian mural painting is divided into three epochs by the great masters Giotto, Masaccio, and Michelangelo, and by the marking series of frescoes in the three chapels of Padua, Florence, and Rome—the Arena, the Brancacci, and the Sistine. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle note the size and the small number of the "joints in the surface preparation" of the walls of the Brancacci chapel, and thence conclude that the painting of Masaccio's frescoes was carried on with extraordinary speed and facility of handling; the extreme smoothness of the prepared surfaces is also remarked by the same critics.

[35] Fra Angelico was born fifteen years before Masaccio, and was already a famous master when the Brancacci frescoes were painted.

[36] In sum, the great initial step in the progress of fifteenth-century art was

first commencement of his exquisite manner in this place, and to these must be added Granaccio, Lorenzo de Credi, Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo, Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, Francia Bigio, or Franciabigio, Baccio Bandinelli, Alonzo Spagnolo, Jacopo da Pontormo, Pierino del Vaga, and Toto del Nunziata; all in short who have sought to acquire their art in its perfection, have constantly repaired to study it in this chapel, there imbibing the precepts and rules necessary to be followed for the ensurance of success, and learning to labour effectually from the figures of Masaccio. And if I have here made mention of but few among the foreigners who have frequented this chapel for purposes of study, let it suffice to say that where the heads go, there the members are certain to follow. But although the works of Masaccio have ever been held in such high estimation, yet it is nevertheless the opinion, or rather the firm belief, of many, that he would have done still greater things for art, had not death, which tore him from us at the age of twenty-six, so prematurely deprived the world of this great master. Whether it were from envy, or because the best things have but rarely a long duration, so it was that he died in the fairest flower of his youth; and so sudden was his decease, that there were not wanting persons who ascribed it to poison rather than to any other cause (*accidente*).[37]

It is said that when Filippo di Ser Brunellesco heard of this event, he remarked, "We have suffered a very great loss in the death of Masaccio," and that it grieved him exceedingly, the rather as he had himself long laboured to instruct the departed painter in matters touching the rules of perspective and architecture. Masaccio was buried in the above-named church of the Carmine[38] in the year 1443, and

taken here. In the original this "sublime" is *il divinissimo* (the most divine) Michelangelo Buonarrotti.

[37] This is probably a fable.

[38] Milanesi claims that it is now proved beyond doubt that Masaccio died in Rome about the year 1428, and at the age of twenty-six. He therefore was in all probability not buried in the Carmine. A document of 1429 signed by Masaccio's brother Giovanni has appended to it the following note: "He is said to have died in Rome."

although no memorial was placed over his sepulchre at the time—he having been but little esteemed while in life[39]—yet there were not wanting those who honoured him after his death.[40 41 42].

[39] Masaccio enjoyed the favor of Cosimo de' Medici and the friendship of Brunelleschi, so that the statement that he was "but little esteemed" may be regarded in the light of having few public honours.

[40] Woltmann suggests that Vasari may have seen a memorial tablet in the Carmine, which was afterwards destroyed in the burning of the church in 1771.

[41] In the history of painting Masaccio's is the greatest name between Giotto and Raphael; he is "the inheritor of one, the ancestor of the other," says M. Lafenestre (*Peinture Italienne*, Vol. I., p. 164). He adds that Masaccio determined anew the destiny of Italian painting "by setting it again, but this time strengthened by a perfected technique, in the broad, straight path which Giotto had opened." In technique he added to art a fuller comprehension of perspective, especially of aërial perspective, the differences in the planes of figures in the same composition. Composition itself he felt so broadly and grandly that his Tribute Money leads the mind directly forward to the *stanze* of the Vatican. Simplicity and style were both his to such an extent that the chapel of the Brancacci became a school-room to the masters of the fifteenth century. His color was agreeable, gray and atmospheric, his drawing direct and simple. He was at once an idealist and a realist, having the merit, says the Vicomte Henri Delaborde, "not of having been the only one to study familiar reality, but of having understood better than any of his predecessors the conditions in virtue of which reality becomes worthy of art." Symonds, in his Fine Arts, after having emphasized the greatness of this "foremost among the pioneers of the Renaissance," notes the only exception which can perhaps be taken to Masaccio's style by saying that while he "realises phenomenal truth with a largeness and dignity peculiar to himself," "he thinks perhaps overmuch of external form," of air effects, and coloring, so that in comparing him with Giotto we feel that where so much has been gained something too has been lost, and that with the later painter, art becoming more scenic has forfeited somewhat of its dramatic poignancy. In spite of this forfeit Masaccio kept so much of his own that his personal impressions, says M. E. Müntz in *Les Primitifs*, "became the common patrimony of his century," and "the honour of having completely created a new style belongs to the illustrious and unfortunate Masaccio."

[42] Masaccio is said to have painted his own portrait as one of the figures of the Tribute Money in the Brancacci chapel. For certain portraits attributed to Masaccio, especially one said to be of himself and exhibited from the Panshanger collection in 1881, see the Academy for January 29th of that year.

FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT[1]

[Born 1377; died 1446.]

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THERE are many men who, though formed by nature with small persons and insignificant features, are yet endowed with so much greatness of soul and force of character, that unless they can occupy themselves with difficult—nay, almost impossible undertakings, and carry these enterprises to perfection to the admiration of others, they are

[1] In this biography, Vasari was enabled to draw copiously from a life of Brunelleschi, the manuscript of which, long anonymous, has been proved by Milanesi to have been written by Antonio Manetti (1423-97). The notice of

incapable of finding peace for their lives. And, however mean or unpromising may be the occasion presented to such persons, however trifling the object to be attained, they find means to make it important, and to give it elevation. Therefore it is that none should look with contemptuous glance on any one whom he may encounter, having an aspect divested of that grace and beauty which we might expect that Nature would confer, even from his birth, upon him who is to exhibit distinguished talent, since it is beyond doubt that beneath the clods of earth the veins of gold lie hidden. So much force of mind, and so much goodness of heart, are frequently born with men of the most unpromising exterior, that if these be conjoined with nobility of soul, nothing short of the most important and valuable results can be looked for from them, since they labour to embellish the unsightly form by the beauty and brightness of the spirit. This was clearly exemplified in Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, who was no less diminutive in person than Messer Forete da Rabatta and Giotto, but who was of such exalted genius withal, that we may truly declare him to have been given to us by heaven, for the purpose of imparting a new spirit to architecture, which for hundreds of years had been lost: for the men of those times had badly expended great treasures in the erection of buildings without order, constructed in a wretched manner after deplorable designs, with fantastic inventions, laboured graces, and worse decorations. But it then pleased Heaven, the earth having been for so many years destitute of any distinguished mind and divine genius, that Filippo Brunelleschi should leave to the world,

Brunelleschi, in the *Huomini Singhularj in Firenze dal MCCCC° innanzi*, is believed by Milanesi and Herr Frey to be by Manetti, but Herr C. von Fabriczy, *Arch. Stor.* V., *Fasc. I.*, is inclined to think that the lives contained in the latter work were only copied by Manetti from prior sources. A little earlier than Manetti's manuscript is the *Florentini excellenti in pictura et Sculptura del Proemio di Cristoforo Landino* (commentary on Dante). Milanesi believes that Manetti completed his life of Brunelleschi, that Vasari used it to the end of the life of Filippo, but Herr von Fabriczy claims that the *Libro d'Antonio Billi* also served Vasari. See also *Archivio Storico Italiano, Série* V.-VIII., Florence, 1891, pp. 36 *et seq.*

the most noble, vast, and beautiful edifice that had ever been constructed in modern times, or even in those of the ancients; giving proof that the talent of the Tuscan artists, although lost for a time, was not extinguished. He was, moreover, adorned by the most excellent qualities, among which was that of kindliness, insomuch that there never was a man of more benign and amicable disposition; in judgment he was calm and dispassionate, and laid aside all thought of his own interest and even that of his friends, whenever he perceived the merits and talents of others to demand that he should do so. He knew himself, instructed many from the stores of his genius, and was ever ready to succour his neighbour in all his necessities; he declared himself the confirmed enemy of all vice, and the friend of those who laboured in the cause of virtue. Never did he spend his moments vainly, but, although constantly occupied in his own works, in assisting those of others, or administering to their necessities, he had yet always time to bestow on his friends, for whom his aid was ever ready.

There lived in Florence, as we are told, a man of good renown, very praiseworthy habits, and much activity in his affairs, whose name was Ser Brunellesco di Lippo Lapi,[2] and whose grandfather, called Cambio, was a very learned person, the son of a physician famous in those times, and named Maestro Ventura Bacherini. Ser Brunellesco chose for his wife a young woman of excellent conduct, from the noble family of the Spini, with whom, as part payment of her dowry, he received a house, wherein he and his children dwelt to the day of their death. This house stands in a corner on the side opposite to San Michele Bertelli,[3] after passing the Piazza degli Agli, and while Brunellesco there exercised his calling and lived happily with his wife, there

[2] The earliest Brunelleschi of whom we have knowledge was a certain Maestro Cambio di Tura, a physician; of his eldest son, Tura, was born Lippo—the father of Ser Brunellesco, and grandfather of Filippo Brunelleschi, the architect.

[3] Now San Gaetano.

was born to him in the year 1377 a son, to whom he gave the name of Filippo, after his own father, who was then dead. This birth he solemnized with all possible gladness. As the infant advanced in childhood, his father taught him the first rudiments of learning with the utmost care, and herein Filippo displayed so much intelligence, and so clear an understanding, as to frequently cause surprise that he did not take pains to attain perfection in letters, but rather seemed to direct his thoughts to matters of more obvious utility, a circumstance which caused Ser Brunellesco, who wished his son to follow his own calling of a notary, or that of his great-great-grandfather (tritavolo)[4] very great displeasure. Perceiving, nevertheless, that the mind of the boy was constantly intent on various ingenious questions of art and mechanics, he made him learn writing and arithmetic, and then placed him in the Guild of the Goldsmiths,[5] that he might acquire the art of design from a friend of his. This was a great satisfaction to Filippo, who no long time after he had begun to study and practise in that art, understood the setting of precious stones much better than any old artist in the vocation. He also executed works in niello; among others, figures in silver, two prophets, namely, half-lengths, which were placed over the altar of San Jacopo di Pistoja, and were considered very beautiful; these figures were made by Filippo, for the superintendents of the cathedral in that city. He also executed works in basso-rilievo, wherein he showed so complete a mastery of that art, as to make it manifest that his genius must quickly overstep the limits of the goldsmith's calling. Subsequently, having made acquaintance with several learned persons, he began to turn his attention to the computation of the divisions of time, the adjustment of weights, and the movement of

[4] That is to say, the calling of a physician.

[5] He was enrolled in the Art of Silk 1398—and again enrolled among the Goldsmiths in 1404, these latter being affiliated with the members of the Silk Guild. The two Prophets at end of either upper row, on the silver altar in the Duomo of Pistoja, are, perhaps, Filippo's first work. See Sig. Paolo Fontana, reviewing C. von Fabriczy's Brunelleschi, in *L'Arch. Stor.*, 1893.

wheels; he considered the method by which they might best be made to revolve, and how they might most effectually be set in motion, making several very good and beautiful watches with his own hand.

Not content with this, Filippo was seized with an earnest desire to attempt the art of sculpture, and this wish took effect in such sort that Donatello, then a youth, being considered of great distinction and high promise therein, Filippo contracted a close intimacy with him; and each attracted by the talents of the other, they became so strongly attached that one seemed unable to live without the other. But Filippo, who was capable of attaining excellence in various departments, gave his attention to many professions, nor had any long time elapsed before he was considered by good judges to be an excellent architect. This he proved in various works which served for the decoration of houses, as, for example, for that of the house of Apollonio Lapi, his kinsman, at the corner of the Ciai,[6] towards the Mercato Vecchio, where he laboured industriously all the time that the edifice was in course of erection; and he did the same thing at the tower and house of Petraja[7] at Castello, outside of Florence. In the palace of the Signoria also, Filippo distributed and arranged all the rooms occupied for the affairs of their office by the officials of the "Monte." He therein constructed the windows and doors after the manner of the ancients, a thing not then very frequently done, architecture being in a very rude state in Tuscany.

There was at that time a statue of Santa Maria Maddalena to be executed in linden-wood, for the monks of Santo Spirito in Florence, and which was to be placed in one of their chapels; Filippo therefore, who had executed various small works in sculpture, being desirous of proving that he could succeed in the greater also, undertook to execute this statue, which, being completed and fixed in its place, was considered exceedingly beautiful; but in the subsequent

[6] Rather the Canto de' Ricci.

[7] Now a villa in the possession of the King of Italy.

conflagration of the church in 1471 it was burnt, with many other remarkable things.

Filippo Brunelleschi gave considerable attention to the study of perspective, the rules of which were then very imperfectly understood, and often falsely interpreted; and in this he expended much time, until at length he discovered a perfectly correct method, that of taking the ground plan and sections by means of intersecting lines, a truly ingenious thing, and of great utility to the arts of design.[8] In these inquiries Filippo found so much pleasure that he executed a drawing of the Piazza San Giovanni, wherein he pourtrayed all the compartments of the incrustation in black and white marble, the foreshortening being managed with singular felicity and grace. He represented the house of the Misericordia in like manner, with the shops of the wafer-makers and the arch of the Pecori, giving the column of San Zanobi on the other side. This work having been highly commended by artists, and all who were capable of judging in matters of the kind, gave Filippo so much encouragement, that no long time elapsed before he commenced another, and made a view of the Palace, the Piazza, the Loggia de' Signori, with the roof of the Pisani, and all the buildings erected around that Square, works by which the attention of artists was so effectively aroused, that they afterwards devoted themselves to the study of perspective with great zeal.[9] To Masaccio in particular, who was his friend, Filippio taught this art, the painter being then very young; but that he did much credit to his teacher is sufficiently manifest from the edifices depicted in his works. Nor did he fail to instruct those who worked in *tarsia*, which is a sort of inlaid work, executed in woods of various colours; the efforts of these artists he stimulated so powerfully, that from this time a better method prevailed, and many useful improvements were made in that branch of

[8] Vasari also credits Paolo Uccello with this same discovery, which really belonged rather to Brunelleschi.

[9] These drawings are probably lost.

art, wherein, both then and at a later period, various excellent works were produced, from which Florence derived both fame and profit during many years. Messer Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli [10] returning to Florence about this time, and being at supper with some of his friends in a garden, invited Filippo also; who, hearing them discourse of the mathematical sciences, formed an intimate acquaintance with the philosopher, from whom he acquired the knowledge of geometry; and although Filippo possessed no learning, he yet reasoned so well, by the aid of his practical experience, that he frequently astonished Toscanelli. Thus labouring perpetually, Brunelleschi next turned his attention to the Scriptures, and never failed to be present at the disputations and preaching of learned men. From this practice he derived so much advantage, by help of his excellent memory, that the above-named Messer Paolo, alluding to him, was accustomed to say that, to hear Filippo in argument, one might fancy oneself listening to a second Paul. At the same time he gave earnest study to the works of Dante, with whose description of localities, and their respective distances, he made himself very familiar, and frequently availed himself of them in his conversations, when he would cite them by way of comparison. Nor, indeed, were his thoughts ever occupied otherwise than in the consideration of ingenious and difficult enquiries; but he could never find any one who gave him so much satisfaction as did Donato, with whom he had often held confidential discourse; these two artists found perpetual pleasure in the society of each other, and frequently conferred together on the difficulties of their art. Now it happened in those days that Donato had completed [11] a crucifix in wood, which was placed in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence, beneath the story of the girl restored to life by St. Francis, a picture painted by Taddeo Gaddi, and he desired to have the opinion of Filippo respecting his work; but he repented of

[10] Toscanelli was the friend and adviser of Columbus.

[11] This famous anecdote is repeated at greater length in the life of Donatello.

having asked it, since Filippo replied that he had placed a clown on the cross. And from this time there arose, as is related at length in the life of Donato, the saying of "Take wood then, and make one thyself." Thereupon Filippo who never suffered himself to be irritated by anything said to him, however well calculated to provoke him to anger, kept silence for several months, meanwhile preparing a crucifix, also in wood, and of similar size with that of Donato, but of such excellence, so well designed and so carefully executed, that when Donato, having been sent forward to his house by Filippo, who intended him a surprise, beheld the work (the undertaking of which by Filippo was entirely unknown to him) he was utterly confounded, and having in his hand an apron full of eggs, and other things on which his friend and himself were to dine together, he suffered the whole to fall to the ground, while he regarded the work before him, in the very extremity of amazement. The artistic and ingenious manner in which Filippo had disposed and united the legs, trunk, and arms of the figure was alike obvious and surprising to Donato, who not only confessed himself conquered but declared the work a miracle. This crucifix is now placed in the church of Santa Maria Novella, between the chapel of the Strozzi family and that of the Bardi da Vernio, and is still greatly praised by the judges of modern times.[12]

The talents of these truly excellent masters being thereupon appreciated, they received a commission from the Guild of the Butchers, and that of the Joiners,* to prepare the two figures, in marble, required for the niches appropriated to those guilds among the number surrounding Or San Michele. These figures, Filippo, being occupied by other affairs, suffered Donato to execute alone, which he did to great perfection.

* The original Italian, *l'Arte de' Linaioli*, means the Guild of Linen-drapers, not Joiners (*Legnaioli*).

[12] Brunelleschi's crucifix over the altar of the Gondi chapel in S. M. Novella. is the one referred to in this story.

After these things, and in the year 1401, it was determined, seeing that sculpture had reached so elevated a condition, to reconstruct the two doors of the church and baptistery of San Giovanni, a work which, from the death of Andrea Pisano to that time, there had been no masters capable of conducting. Wherefore, this intention being made known to those sculptors who were in Tuscany, they were sent for, their appointments were given to them, and the space of a year was allowed for the preparation of a story by each master. Among these artists Filippo and Donato [13] were also invited, and each of them was required to prepare a story, in concurrence with Lorenzo Ghiberti, Jacopo della Fonte, Simone da Colle, Francesco di Valdambrina, and Niccolo d'Arezzo. All these stories being completed within the year, and placed together to be compared, were all found to be beautiful, but with certain differences. One was well designed, but imperfectly executed, as was that of Donato; another was admirably drawn, and carefully finished, but the composition of the story was not good, the gradual diminution of the figures being neglected, as in the case of Jacopo della Quercia; a third artist had betrayed poverty of invention, and his figures were insignificant, which was the defect of Francesco di Valdambrina's specimen; but the worst of all were those of Niccolo d'Arezzo and Simone da Colle; while the best was that of Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, in whose work perfection of design, delicacy of execution, rich invention, knowledge of art, and well-finished figures, were all combined. Nor was the story of Filippo greatly inferior to that of Lorenzo: the subject was Abraham proceeding to sacrifice Isaac,[14] and among the figures was that of a servant, who, whilst he is awaiting his master, with the ass feeding beside him, is drawing a thorn from his foot. This figure merits considerable praise.

[13] It is improbable that Donatello competed. See his Life.

[14] This sacrifice of Abraham is in the Bargello, as is also the panel by Ghiberti.

All these stories having been exhibited together, and Filippo and Donato not being satisfied with any, except that of Lorenzo, they judged him to be better adapted to execute the work than themselves or the masters who had produced the other stories.[15] They consequently persuaded the syndics, by the good reasons which they assigned, to adjudge the work to Lorenzo, showing that the public and private benefit would be thus most effectually secured. Now this was, in truth, the sincere rectitude of friendship; it was talent without envy, and uprightness of judgment in a decision respecting themselves, by which these artists were more highly honoured than they could have been by conducting the work to the utmost summit of perfection. Happy spirits! who, while aiding each other, took pleasure in commending the labours of their competitors. How unhappy, on the contrary, are the artists of our day, labouring to injure each other, yet still unsatisfied, they burst with envy while seeking to wound others. Filippo was requested by the superintendents to undertake the work, in concert with Lorenzo, but he would not consent to this, desiring rather to be the first in some other art, than merely an equal, and perhaps secondary, in that undertaking. Wherefore he gave the story in bronze, which he had prepared, to Cosimo de' Medici, who caused it at a subsequent period to be placed in the old sacristy of San Lorenzo, and at the back of the altar, where it still remains.[16] That of Donato was given to the Guild of the Money-changers.[17]

[15] The judges of the competition for the gates of the Baptistery would have awarded the execution of the doors to the collaboration of Ghiberti and Brunelleschi together. According to Vasari, Brunelleschi nobly refused any share with the man who had surpassed him as sculptor. According to Antonio Manetti, on the other hand, Brunelleschi refused to do anything unless he could do all. These two stories, though so contradictory, are not upon consideration wholly incompatible. It is easy to understand that either sculptor should refuse collaboration, feeling that the design must be either *his* or not *his*. And it is also quite possible that Brunelleschi knowing that the judges must at least adjudge half the work to Ghiberti, was impelled partly by the conditions of the situation and partly by admiration for Ghiberti's model to frankly admit its excellence.

[16] [17] In the Bargello.

The commission for the door being given to Lorenzo Ghiberti, Filippo and Donato, who were together, resolved to depart from Florence in company, and to remain in Rome for some years, Filippo proposing to pursue the study of architecture, and Donato that of sculpture. And this Filippo did. Desiring to surpass Lorenzo and Donato, in proportion as architecture is more useful to man than are sculpture and paintings, he first sold a small farm which he possessed at Settignano, when both artists departed from Florence and proceeded to Rome, where, when Filippo beheld the magnificence of the buildings and the perfection of the churches, he stood like one amazed, and seemed to have lost his wits.[18] They instantly made preparations for measuring the cornices and taking the ground-plans of these edifices, Donato and himself both labouring continually, and sparing neither time nor cost.[19] No place was left unvisited by them, either in Rome or without the city, and in the Campagna; nor did they fail to take the dimensions of any thing good within their reach. And as Filippo was free from all household cares, he gave himself up so ex-

[18] The revival of antiquity in art may be dated from this visit of Brunelleschi and Donatello to Rome, for it was the most important of the initial steps in the long march of discovery. M. Eugène Müntz, *Donatello*, pp. 7, 10, declares that the fate of modern art was decided in the first five years of the fifteenth century, and by five or six men at most; by Claux Sluter in Burgundy, the Van Eycks in Flanders, and Brunelleschi and Donatello in Italy, who raised the standard of revolt and announced that for the future observation of nature (allied in Italy with the study of the antique) should be substituted for a more or less conventionalized ideal.

The great general influence upon Filippo of his Roman visit cannot be doubted, but as to its direct effect upon his individual works there has lately been some discussion. Paolo Fontana (*Il Brunelleschi e l'architettura classica; L'Arch. Stor.* I., 256-57) in a careful argument claims that Filippo is in nowise proved to have stayed long in Rome, and that he based his art less on Roman remains than on early Tuscan buildings. Sig. Fontana especially cites among the latter the Apostoli church at Florence. According to Herr Von Fabriczy, Brunelleschi went to Rome first about 1403, stayed a year and a half, returned to Florence, and went back to Rome again in 1405. His youthful works are not known with any certainty.

[19] Many of the ancient monuments of Rome at the time of the Renaissance are enumerated by M. Müntz in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1884.

clusively to his studies, that he took no time either to eat or sleep; his every thought was of Architecture which was then extinct: I mean the good old manner, and not the Gothic and barbarous one, which was much practised at that period. Filippo had two very great purposes in his mind, the one being to restore to light the good manner in architecture, which, if he could effect, he believed that he should leave a no less illustrious memorial of himself than Cimabue and Giotto had done; the other was to discover a method for constructing the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, the difficulties of which were so great, that after the death of Arnolfo Lapi, no one had ever been found of sufficient courage to attempt the vaulting of that Cupola without an enormous expense of scaffolding.[20] He did not impart this purpose, either to Donato or to any living soul, but he never rested while in Rome until he had well pondered on all the difficulties involved in the vaulting of the *Ritonda* in that city (*the Pantheon*), and had maturely considered the means by which it might be effected.[21] He also well examined and made careful drawings of all the vaults and arches of antiquity: to these he devoted perpetual study, and if by chance the artists found fragments of capitals, columns, cornices, or basements of buildings buried in the earth, they set labourers to work and caused them to be dug out, until the foundation was laid open to their view. Reports of this being spread about Rome, the artists were called "treasure-seekers," and this name they frequently heard as they passed, negligently clothed, along the streets, the people believing them to be men who studied geomancy, for the discovery of treasures; the cause of which was that they had one day found an ancient vase of

[20] At this time many of the monuments of antiquity now destroyed were in existence. They were drawn and measured by Brunelleschi with the utmost eagerness, but Donatello is said by Antonio Manetti to have "had eyes only for sculpture."

[21] Thence the assertion of many that the Cupola of the Rotunda served Brunellesco as his model, at least in a general manner, for that by which he afterwards immortalized himself.—*Masselli*, quoted by Mrs. Foster.

earth, full of coins. The money of Filippo falling short, he supplied the want by setting precious stones for the goldsmiths who were his friends; which served him for a resource. Donato having returned to Florence, Filippo was left alone in Rome, and there he laboured continually among the ruins of the buildings, where he studied more industriously than ever. Nor did he rest until he had drawn every description of fabric *—temples, round, square, or octagon; basilicas, aqueducts, baths, arches, the Colosseum, Amphitheatres, and every church built of bricks, of which he examined all the modes of binding and clamping, as well as the turning of the vaults and arches; he took note likewise of all the methods used for uniting the stones, as well as of the means used for securing the equilibrium and close conjunction of all the parts; and having found that in all the larger stones there was a hole, formed exactly in the centre of each on the under side, he discovered that this was for the insertion of the iron instrument with which the stones are drawn up, and which is called by us the mason's clamps (*la ulivella*), an invention, the use of which he restored and ever afterwards put in practice. The different orders were next divided by his cares, each order, Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian, being placed apart; and such was the effect of his zeal in that study, that he became capable of entirely reconstructing the city in his imagination, and of beholding Rome as she had been before she was ruined. But in the year 1407 the air of the place caused Filippo some slight indisposition, when he was advised by his friends to try change of air. He consequently returned to Florence, where many buildings had suffered by his absence, and for these he made many drawings and gave numerous counsels on his return.

In the same year [22] an assemblage of architects and engineers was gathered in Florence, by the Superintendents of the works of Santa Maria del Fiore, and by the Syndics of

* The Italian word *fabbrica* should be translated construction.

[22] In 1417.

the Guild of Woolworkers, to consult on the means by which the cupola might be raised. Among these appeared Filippo, who gave it as his opinion that the edifice above the roof must be constructed, not after the design of Arnolfo, but that a frieze, fifteen braccia high, must be erected, with a large window in each of its sides: since not only would this take the weight off the piers of the tribune, but would also permit the cupola itself to be more easily raised. Models after which the work might be executed were prepared in this manner accordingly. Some months after Filippo's return, and when he had recovered his health, he was one morning on the Piazza di Santa Maria del Fiore with Donato and other artists, when the conversation turned on the antiquity of works in sculpture. Donato related, that when he was returning from Rome he had taken the road of Orvieto, to see the marble façade of the Duomo in that city—a work highly celebrated, executed by the hands of various masters, and considered in those days a very remarkable thing. He added, that when afterwards passing by Cortona, he had there seen in the capitular church a most beautiful antique vase in marble, adorned with sculptures—a very rare circumstance at that time, since the large numbers of beautiful relics brought to light in our days had not then been disinterred. Donato proceeding to describe the manner in which the artist had treated this work, with the delicacy he had remarked in it, and the excellence, nay perfection, of the workmanship, Filippo became inflamed with such an ardent desire to see it, that, impelled by the force of his love to art, he set off ,as he was, in his mantle, his hood, and his wooden shoes, without saying where he was going, and went on foot to Cortona for that purpose. Having seen the vase[23] and being pleased with it, he drew a copy of it with his pen, and returned therewith to Florence, before Donato or any other person had perceived that he had departed, all believing that he must be occupied in drawing or

[23] This font or marble sarcophagus is still in the cathedral of Cortona; a battle of Centaurs and Lapithæ is sculptured upon it.

inventing something.* Having got back to Florence, Filippo showed the drawing of the vase, which he had executed with much patience, to Donato, who was not a little astonished at this evidence of the love Filippo bore to art. The latter then remained several months in Florence, secretly preparing models and machines, all intended for the erection of the Cupola, amusing himself meanwhile with perpetually bantering his brother-artists; for it was at this time that he made the jest of "the Grasso and Matteo."[24] He frequently went also for his amusement to assist Lorenzo Ghiberti in finishing certain parts of the doors. But one morning the fancy took him, hearing that there was some talk of providing engineers for the construction of the Cupola, of returning to Rome, thinking that he would have more reputation and be more sought from abroad, than if he remained in Florence. When Filippo had returned to Rome accordingly, the acuteness of his genius and his readiness of resource were taken into consideration, when it was remembered that in his discourses he showed a confidence and courage that had not been found in any of the other architects, who stood confounded, together with the builders, having lost all power of proceeding; for they were convinced that no method of constructing the Cupola would ever be found, nor any beams that would make a scaffold strong enough to support the framework and weight of so vast an edifice. The Superintendents were therefore resolved to have an end of the matter, and wrote to Filippo in Rome, entreating him to repair to Florence, when he, who desired nothing better, returned very readily. The

* The meaning of the Italian word *fantasticare* (here translated "to invent something") may be suggested by the expressions to build castles in the air, to dream day-dreams, though it is in reality untranslatable.

[24] *Il grasso Legnaiuolo* (the fat carpenter) is the story of a very droll but rather cruel Florentine practical joke. Antonio Manetti is said to have put the tale into its final shape. The joke consisted in making a certain man believe that he had lost his identity and had exchanged his own personality for that of another Florentine citizen; the butt took the jest so much to heart that he quitted Florence and emigrated to the court of the King of Hungary. This story was reprinted in Florence in 1856.

wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore and the Syndics of the Guild of Woolworkers, having assembled on his arrival, set before him all the difficulties, from the greatest to the smallest, which had been made by the masters, who were present, together with himself, at the audience: whereupon Filippo replied in these words—"Gentlemen Superintendents, there is no doubt that great undertakings always present difficulties in their execution; and if none ever did so before, this of yours does it to an extent of which you are not perhaps even yet fully aware, for I do not know that even the ancients ever raised so enormous a vault as this will be. I, who have many times reflected on the scaffoldings required, both within and without, and on the method to be pursued for working securely at this erection, have never been able to come to a decision; and I am confounded, no less by the breadth than the height of the edifice. Now if the Cupola could be arched in a circular form, we might pursue the method adopted by the Romans in erecting the Pantheon of Rome; that is, the Rotunda. But here we must follow the eight sides of the building, dovetailing, and so, to speak, enchaining the stones, which will be a very difficult thing. Yet, remembering that this is a temple consecrated to God and the Virgin, I confidently trust, that for a work executed to their honour, they will not fail to infuse knowledge where it is now wanting, and will bestow strength, wisdom, and genius on him who shall be the author of such a project. But how can I help you in the matter, seeing that the work is not mine? I tell you plainly, that if it belonged to me, my courage and power would beyond all doubt suffice to discover means whereby the work might be effected without so many difficulties; but as yet I have not reflected on the matter to any extent, and you would have me tell you by what method it is to be accomplished. But even if your worships should determine that the Cupola shall be raised, you will be compelled not only to make trial of me, who do not consider myself capable of being the sole adviser in so important a matter, but

also to expend money, and to command that within a year, and on a fixed day, many architects shall assemble in Florence; not Tuscans and Italians only, but Germans, French, and of every other nation: to them it is that such an undertaking should be proposed, to the end that having discussed the matter and decided among so many masters, the work may be commenced and entrusted to him who shall give the best evidence of capacity, or shall display the best method and judgment for the execution of so great a charge. I am not able to offer you other counsel, or to propose a better arrangement than this."

The proposal and plan of Filippo pleased the Syndics and Wardens of the works, but they would have liked that he should meanwhile prepare a model, on which they might have decided. But he showed himself to have no such intention, and taking leave of them, declared that he was solicited by letters to return to Rome. The Syndics then perceiving that their request and those of the wardens did not suffice to detain him, caused several of his friends to entreat his stay; but Filippo not yielding to these prayers, the wardens, one morning, ordered him a present of money; this was on the 26th[25] of May, 1417, and the sum is to be seen among the expenses of Filippo, in the books of the works. All this was done to render him favourable to their wishes; but, firm to his resolution, he departed nevertheless from Florence and returned to Rome, where he continued the unremitting study of the same subject, making various arrangements and preparing himself for the completion of that work, being convinced, as was the truth, that no other than himself could conduct such an undertaking to its conclusion. Nor had Filippo advised the syndics to call new architects for any other reason, than was furnished by his desire that those masters should be the witnesses of his own superior genius: he by no means expected that they could or would receive the commission for vaulting that tribune, or would undertake the charge, which he believed to be

[25] Rather the 19th.

altogether too difficult for them. Much time was meanwhile consumed, before the architects, whom the syndics had caused to be summoned from afar, could arrive from their different countries. Orders had been given to the Florentine merchants resident in France, Germany, England, and Spain, who were authorized to spend large sums of money for the purpose of sending them, and were commanded to obtain from the sovereigns of each realm the most experienced and distinguished masters of the respective countries.

In the year 1420, all these foreign masters were at length assembled in Florence, with those of Tuscany, and all the best Florentine artists in design.[26] Filippo likewise then returned from Rome. They all assembled, therefore, in the hall of the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Syndics and Superintendents, together with a select number of the most capable and ingenious citizens being present, to the end that having heard the opinion of each on the subject, they might at length decide on the method to be adopted for vaulting the tribune. Being called into the audience, the opinions of all were heard one after another, and each architect declared the method which he had thought of adopting. And a fine thing it was to hear the strange and various notions then propounded on that matter: for one said that columns must be raised from the ground up, and that on these they must turn the arches, whereon the woodwork for supporting the weight must rest. Others affirmed that the vault should be turned in cysteolite or sponge-stone, (spugna), thereby to diminish the weight; and several of the masters agreed in the opinion, that a column must be erected in the centre, and the Cupola raised in the form of a pavilion, like that of San Giovanni in Florence.[27] Nay,

[26] In the books of the cathedral works no mention is made of foreigners as present at this meeting, and it is probable that Vasari either followed some untrustworthy tradition, or simply wished to enhance the victory of a Tuscan.

[27] Not the cupola itself, but the external shell; the cupola is turned with the pointed arch, the exterior has eight sides and the form of a pavilion. See Milanesi, II. 344, note 2.

there were not wanting those who maintained that it would be a good plan to fill the space with earth,[28] among which small coins (quatrini) should be mingled, that when the Cupola should be raised, they might then give permission that whoever should desire the soil might go to fetch it, when the people would immediately carry it away without expense. Filippo alone declared that the Cupola might be erected without so great a mass of wood-work, without a column in the centre, and without the mound of earth; at a much lighter expense than would be caused by so many arches, and very easily, without any frame-work whatever.

Hearing this, the Syndics, who were listening in the expectation of hearing some fine method, felt convinced that Filippo had talked like a mere simpleton, as did the Superintendents, and all the other citizens; they derided him therefore, laughing at him, and turning away; they bade him discourse of something else, for that this was the talk of a fool or madman, as he was. Therefore Filippo, thinking he had cause of offence, replied, "But consider, gentlemen, that it is not possible to raise the Cupola in any other manner than this of mine, and although you laugh at me, yet you will be obliged to admit (if you do not mean to be obstinate), that it neither must nor can be done in any other manner: and if it be erected after the method that I propose, it must be turned in the manner of the pointed arch, and must be double—the one vaulting within, the other without, in such sort that a passage should be formed between the two. At the angles of the eight walls, the building must be strengthened by the dove-tailing of the stones, and in like manner the walls themselves must be girt around by strong beams of oak. We must also provide for the lights, the staircases, and the conduits by which the rain-water may be carried off. And none of you have remembered that we must prepare supports within, for the execution of the mosaics, with many other difficult arrangements;

[28] According to a tradition cited by Bottari from Baglioni's Life of Giacomo della Porta the cupola of the Rotunda was built in this way (!).

but I, who see the Cupola raised, I have reflected on all these things, and I know that there is no other mode of accomplishing them, than that of which I have spoken." Becoming heated as he proceeded, the more Filippo sought to make his views clear to his hearers, that they might comprehend and agree with him, the more he awakened their doubts, and the less they confided in him, so that, instead of giving him their faith, they held him to be a fool and a babbler.* Whereupon being more than once dismissed, and finally refusing to go, they caused him to be carried forcibly from the audience by the servants of the place, considering him to be altogether mad. This contemptuous treatment caused Filippo at a later period to say, that he dared not at that time pass through any part of the city, lest some one should say, "See, where goes that fool!" The Syndics and others forming the assembly remained confounded, first, by the difficult methods proposed by the other masters, and next by that of Filippo, which seemed to them stark nonsense. He appeared to them to render the enterprise impossible by his two propositions—first, by that of making the Cupola double, whereby the great weight to be sustained would be rendered altogether unmanageable, and next by the proposal of building without a frame-work. Filippo, on the other hand, who had spent so many years in close study to prepare himself for this work, knew not to what course to betake himself, and was many times on the point of leaving Florence. Still, if he desired to conquer, it was necessary to arm himself with patience, and he had seen enough to know that the heads of that city seldom remained long fixed to one resolution. He might easily have shown them a small model which he had secretly made, but he would not do so, knowing the imperfect intelligence of the Syndics, the envy of the artists, and the instability of the citizens, who favoured now one and now another, as each chanced to please them. And I do not wonder at this,

* The word here translated babbler is in the original *cicala*, the noisy Italian treehopper.

because every one in Florence professes to know as much of these matters, as do the most experienced masters, although there are very few who really understand them; a truth which we may be permitted to affirm without offence to those who are well informed on the subject. What Filippo therefore could not effect before the tribunal, he began to attempt with individuals, and talking apart now with a syndic, now with a warden, and again with different citizens, showing moreover certain parts of his design; he thus brought them at length to resolve on confiding the conduct of this work, either to him or to one of the foreign architects. Hereupon, the Syndics, the Wardens, and the citizens, selected to be judges in the matter, having regained courage, gathered together once again, and the architects disputed respecting the matter before them; but all were put down and vanquished on sufficient grounds by Filippo, and here it is said that the dispute of the egg arose, in the manner following. The other architects desired that Filippo should explain his purpose minutely, and show his model as they had shown theirs. This he would not do, but proposed to all the masters, foreigners and compatriots, that he who could make an egg stand upright on a piece of smooth marble, should be appointed to build the Cupola, since in doing that, his genius would be made manifest. They took an egg accordingly, and all those masters did their best to make it stand upright, but none discovered the method of doing so. Wherefore, Filippo, being told that he might make it stand himself, took it daintily into his hand, gave the end of it a blow on the plane of the marble, and made it stand upright. Beholding this, the artists loudly protested, exclaiming, that they could all have done the same; but Filippo replied, laughing, that they might also know how to construct the Cupola, if they had seen the model and design. It was thus at length resolved that Filippo should receive the charge of conducting the work, but he was told that he must furnish the Syndics and Wardens with more exact information.

He returned, therefore, to his house, and stated his whole purpose on a sheet of paper, as clearly as he could possibly express it, when it was given to the tribunal in the following terms :—"The difficulties of this erection being well considered, magnificent signors and wardens, I find that it cannot by any means be constructed in a perfect circle, since the extent of the upper part, where the lantern has to be placed, would be so vast, that when a weight was laid thereon it would soon give way. Now it appears to me that those architects who do not aim at giving perpetual duration to their fabrics, cannot have any regard for the durability of the memorial, nor do they even know what they are doing. I have therefore determined to turn the inner part of this vault in angles, according to the form of the walls, adopting the proportions and manner of the pointed arch, this being a form which displays a rapid tendency to ascend, and when loaded with the lantern, each part will help to give stability to the other. The thickness of the vault at the base must be three braccia and three-quarters ; it must then rise in the form of a pyramid, decreasing from without up to the point where it closes, and where the lantern has to be placed, and at this junction the thickness must be one braccia and a quarter. A second vault shall then be constructed outside the first, to preserve the latter from the rain, and this must be two braccia and a half thick at the base, also diminishing proportionally in the form of a pyramid, in such a manner that the parts shall have their junction at the commencement of the lantern, as did the other, and at the highest point it must have two-thirds of the thickness of the base. There must be a buttress at each angle, which will be eight in all, and between the angles, in the face of each wall, there shall be two, sixteen in all ; and these sixteen buttresses on the inner and outer side of each wall must each have the breadth of four braccia at the base. These two vaults, built in the form of a pyramid, shall rise together in equal proportion to the height of the round window closed by the lantern. There

will thus be constructed twenty-four buttresses with the said vaults built around, and six strong and high arches of a hard stone (macigno), well clamped and bound with iron fastenings, which must be covered with tin, and over these stones shall be cramping-irons, by which the vaults shall be bound to the buttresses. The masonry must be solid, and must leave no vacant space up to the height of five braccia and a quarter; the buttresses being then continued, the arches will be separated. The first and second courses from the base must be strengthened everywhere by long plates of *macigno* laid crosswise, in such sort that both vaults of the Cupola shall rest on these stones. Throughout the whole height, at every ninth braccia there shall be small arches constructed in the vaults between the buttresses, with strong cramps of oak, whereby the buttresses by which the inner vault is supported will be bound and strengthened; these fastenings of oak shall then be covered with plates of iron, on account of the staircases. The buttresses are all to be built of *macigno*, or other hard stone, and the walls of the Cupola are, in like manner, to be all of solid stone bound to the buttresses to the height of twenty-four braccia, and thence upwards they shall be constructed of bricks, or of spongite (spugne), as shall be determined on by the masters who build it, they using that which they consider lightest. On the outside a passage or gallery shall be made above the windows, which below shall form a terrace, with an open parapet or balustrade two braccia high, after the manner of those of the lower tribunes, and forming two galleries, one over the other, placed on a richly-decorated cornice, the upper gallery being covered. The rain-water shall be carried off the Cupola by means of a marble channel, one-third of an ell broad, the water being discharged at an outlet to be constructed of a hard stone (*pietra forte*), beneath the channel. Eight ribs of marble shall be formed on the angles of the external surface of the Cupola, of such thickness as may be requisite; these shall rise to the height of one braccia above the Cupola, with cornices projecting in

the manner of a roof, two braccia broad, that the summit may be complete and sufficiently furnished with eaves and channels on every side; and these must have the form of the pyramid, from their base, or point of junction, to their extremity. Thus the Cupola shall be constructed after the method described above, and without framework, to the height of thirty braccia, and from that height upwards it may be continued after such manner as shall be determined on by the masters who may have to build it, since practice teaches us by what methods to proceed."

When Filippo had written the above, he repaired in the morning to the tribunal, and gave his paper to the Syndics and Wardens, who took the whole of it into their consideration; and, although they were not able to understand it all, yet seeing the confidence of Filippo, and finding that the other architects gave no evidence of having better grounds to proceed on,—he moreover showing a manifest security, by constantly repeating the same things in such a manner that he had all the appearance of having vaulted ten Cupolas;—the Syndics, seeing all this, retired apart, and finally resolved to give him the work: they would have liked to see some example of the manner in which he meant to turn this vault without framework, but to all the rest they gave their approbation. And fortune was favourable to this desire: Bartolommeo Barbadori having determined to build a chapel in Santa Felicità, and having spoken concerning it with Filippo, the latter had commenced the work, and caused the chapel, which is on the right of the entrance, where is also the holy water vase (likewise by the hand of Filippo), to be vaulted without any framework. At the same time he constructed another, in like manner, for Stiatta Ridolfi, in the church of Santo Jacopo sopr' Arno; that, namely, beside the chapel of the High Altar;[29] and

[29] Baldinucci and *l'Anonimo* (Manetti) say that the *cupoletta* by Brunelleschi, which served as pattern for the great Cupola, was in the Ridolfi chapel of Sant' Jacopo sopr' Arno, destroyed in 1709, and that the other still exists in Santa Felicità, in the Barbadori, now Capponi chapel. See Milanesi, II. 350, 2 †.

these works obtained him more credit than was given to his words. The Consuls and Wardens feeling at length assured, by the writing that he had given them, and by the works which they had seen, entrusted the Cupola to his care, and he was made principal master [30] of the works by a majority of votes.* They would nevertheless not commission him to proceed beyond the height of twelve braccia,[31] telling him that they desired to see how the work would succeed, but that if it proceeded as successfully as he expected, they would not fail to give him the appointment for the remainder. The sight of so much obstinacy and distrust in the Syndics and Wardens was so surprising to Filippo, that if he had not known himself to be the only person capable of conducting the work, he would not have laid a hand upon it; but desiring, as he did, to secure the glory of its completion, he accepted the terms, and pledged himself to conduct the undertaking perfectly to the end. The writing Filippo had given was copied into a book wherein the purveyor kept the accounts of the works in wood and marble, together with the obligation into which Filippo had entered as above said. An allowance was then made to him, conformably with what had at other times been given to other Masters of the works.

When the commission given to Filippo became known to the artists and citizens, some thought well of it, and others ill, as always is the case with a matter which calls forth the opinions of the populace, the thoughtless, and the envious. Whilst the preparation of materials for beginning to build was making, a party was formed among the artists and citizens; and these men proceeding to the Syndics and Wardens, declared that the matter had been concluded too hastily, and that such a work ought not to be executed according to the opinion of one man only; they added, that

* The original is "by a majority of beans" (*partito di fave*), as the Florentines used black and white beans in voting.

[30] April, 16, 1420: Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Battista d'Antonio were elected head-masters of the works.

[31] *L'Anonimo* says fourteen braccia, not twelve.

if the Syndics and Wardens had been destitute of distinguished men, instead of being furnished with such in abundance, they would have been excusable, but that what was now done was not likely to redound to the honour of the citizens, seeing, that if any accident should happen, they would incur blame, as persons who had conferred too great a charge on one man, without considering the losses and disgrace that might result to the public. All this considered, it would be well to give Filippo a colleague, who might restrain his impetuosity (furore).

Lorenzo Ghiberti had at that time attained to high credit by the evidence of his genius, which he had given in the doors of San Giovanni; and that he was much beloved by certain persons who were very powerful in the government was now proved with sufficient clearness, since, perceiving the glory of Filippo to increase so greatly, they laboured in such a manner with the Syndics and Wardens, under the pretext of care and anxiety for the building, that Ghiberti was united with Filippo in the work. The bitter vexation of Filippo, the despair into which he fell, when he heard what the Wardens had done, may be understood by the fact that he was on the point of flying from Florence; and had it not been that Donato and Luca della Robbia comforted and encouraged him, he would have gone out of his senses. A truly wicked and cruel rage is that of those men, who, blinded by envy, endanger the honours and noble works of others in the base strife of ambition: it was not the fault of these men that Filippo did not break in pieces the models, set fire to the designs, and in one half hour destroy all the labours so long endured, and ruin the hopes of so many years. The Wardens excused themselves at first to Filippo, encouraging him to proceed, reminding him that the inventor and author of so noble a fabric was still himself, and no other; but they, nevertheless, gave Lorenzo a stipend equal to that of Filippo. The work was then continued with but little pleasure on the part of Filippo, who knew that he must endure all the labours connected therewith, and would

then have to divide the honour and fame equally with Lorenzo.[32] Taking courage, nevertheless, from the thought that he should find a method of preventing the latter from remaining very long attached to that undertaking, he continued to proceed after the manner laid down in the writing given to the Wardens. Meanwhile the thought occurred to the mind of Filippo of constructing a complete model, which, as yet, had never been done. This he commenced forthwith, causing the parts to be made by a certain Bartolommeo, a joiner, who dwelt near his studio.* In this model (the measurements of which were in strict accordance with those of the building itself, the difference being of size only) all the difficult parts of the structure were shown as they were to be when completed; as, for example, staircases lighted and dark, with every other kind of light, with the buttresses and other inventions for giving strength to the building, the doors, and even a portion of the gallery. Lorenzo, having heard of this model, desired to see it, but Filippo refusing, he became angry, and made preparations for con-

* Here both translator and author err, the former in rendering "*Bartolommeo che stava dallo Studio*," by "Bartolommeo who lived near his (Brunelleschi's) *studio*," instead of by "Bartolommeo who lived in, or near the University." This *Studio*, or college, which gave its name to the present *Via dello Studio*, was established in 1348, after the Plague, by the Florentines, in order to attract students to the depopulated city. In Vasari's time an artist's studio was called a *bottega* (shop). The author errs in confusing this Bartolommeo di San Marco *detto dallo Studio*, who aided Ghiberti in making his model, with Bartolommeo di Francesco, who assisted Brunelleschi.

[32] In a note, page 446, *Les Primitifs*, M. Müntz criticises the efforts of MM. Nardini and Frey to rehabilitate Ghiberti and discredit the "Legend of the Cupola," in which efforts they refuse all oral tradition and accept only the official proceedings. M. Müntz adds that aside from any other argument, twenty buildings besides the Cupola, proclaim the genius of Brunelleschi, while not one architectural monument speaks for Ghiberti. Sig. Nardini (Despotti-Mospignotti) claims that Ghiberti took part honourably in all deliberations and has been unfairly treated by Manetti. He believes that Filippo found all the general lines prescribed. There is, however, nothing to prove this, and Filippo certainly was the discoverer of the fact that he could proceed without interior scaffoldings (*Armatura*). See the important chapters (pp. 339–408) upon Filippo's achievements as engineer in Herr von Fabriczy's previously cited life of the architect.

structing a model of his own, that he might not appear to be receiving his salary for nothing, but that he also might seem to count for something in the matter. For these models Filippo received fifty lire and fifteen soldi, as we find by an order in the book of Migliore di Tommaso, under date of the 3rd October 1419, while Lorenzo was paid three hundred lire for the labour and cost of his model, a difference occasioned by the partiality and favour shown to him, rather than merited by any utility or benefit secured to the building by the model which he had constructed.

This vexatious state of things continued beneath the eyes of Filippo until the year 1426, the friends of Lorenzo calling him the inventor of the work, equally with Filippo, and this caused so violent a commotion in the mind of the latter, that he lived in the utmost disquietude. Various improvements and new inventions were, besides, presenting themselves to his thoughts, and he resolved to rid himself of his colleague at all hazards, knowing of how little use he was to the work. Filippo had already raised the walls of the Cupola to the height of twelve braccia in both vaults, but the works, whether in wood or stone, that were to give strength to the fabric, had still to be executed, and as this was a matter of difficulty, he determined to speak with Lorenzo respecting it, that he might ascertain whether the latter had taken it into consideration. But Lorenzo was so far from having thought of this exigency, and so entirely unprepared for it, that he replied by declaring that he would refer that to Filippo as the inventor. The answer of Lorenzo pleased Filippo, who thought he here saw the means of removing his colleague from the works, and of making it manifest that he did not possess that degree of knowledge in the matter which was attributed to him by his friends, and implied in the favour which had placed him in the situation he held. All the builders were now engaged in the work, and waited only for directions, to commence the part above the twelve braccia, to raise the vaults, and render all secure. The closing in of the Cupola towards the top having commenced, it was

necessary to provide the scaffolding, that the masons and labourers might work without danger, seeing that the height was such as to make the most steady head turn giddy, and the firmest spirit shrink, merely to look down from it. The masons and other masters were therefore waiting in expectation of directions as to the manner in which the chains were to be applied, and the scaffoldings erected; but, finding there was nothing determined on either by Lorenzo or Filippo, there arose a murmur among the masons and other builders, at not seeing the work pursued with the solicitude previously shown; and as the workmen were poor persons who lived by the labour of their hands, and who now believed that neither one nor the other of the architects had courage enough to proceed further with the undertaking, they went about the building employing themselves as they best could in looking over and furbishing up all that had been already executed.

But one morning Filippo did not appear at the works: he tied up his head, went to bed complaining bitterly, and causing plates and towels to be heated with great haste and anxiety, pretending that he had an attack of pleurisy. The builders, who stood waiting directions to proceed with their work, on hearing this, demanded orders of Lorenzo for what they were to do; but he replied, that the arrangement of the work belonged to Filippo, and that they must wait for him. "How?" said one of them, "do not you know what his intentions are?" "Yes," replied Lorenzo, "but I would not do any thing without him." This he said by way of excusing himself; for as he had not seen the model of Filippo, and had never asked him what method he meant to pursue, that he might not appear ignorant, so he now felt completely out of his depth, being thus referred to his own judgment, and the more so as he knew that he was employed in that undertaking against the will of Filippo. The illness of the latter having already lasted more than two days, the purveyor of the works, with many of the master-builders, went to see him, and repeatedly asked him

to tell them what they should do; but he constantly replied, "You have Lorenzo, let him begin to do something for once." Nor could they obtain from him any other reply. When this became known, it caused much discussion: great blame was thrown upon the undertaking, and many adverse judgments were uttered. Some said that Filippo had taken to his bed from grief, at finding that he had not power to accomplish the erection of the Cupola, and that he was now repenting of having meddled with the matter; but his friends defended him, declaring that his vexation might arise from the wrong he had suffered in having Lorenzo given to him as a colleague, but that his disorder was pleurisy, brought on by his excessive labours for the work. In the midst of all this tumult of tongues, the building was suspended, and almost all the operations of the masons and stone-cutters came to a stand. These men murmured against Lorenzo, and said, "He is good enough at drawing the salary, but when it comes to directing the manner in which we are to proceed, he does nothing; if Filippo were not here, or if he should remain long disabled, what can Lorenzo do? and if Filippo be ill, is that his fault?" The Wardens, perceiving the discredit that accrued to them from this state of things, resolved to make Filippo a visit, and having reached his house they first condoled with him on his illness, told him into what disorder the building had fallen, and described the troubles which this malady had brought on them. Whereupon Filippo, speaking with much heat, partly to keep up the feint of illness, but also in part from his interest in the work, exclaimed, "What! is not Lorenzo there? why does not he do something? I cannot but wonder at your complaints." To this the Wardens replied, "He will not do anything without you." Whereunto Filippo made answer, "But I could do it well enough without him." This acute and doubly significant reply sufficed to the Wardens, and they departed, having convinced themselves that Filippo was sick of the desire to work alone; they therefore sent certain of his friends to

draw him from his bed, with the intention of removing Lorenzo from the work. Filippo then returned to the building, but seeing the power that Lorenzo possessed by means of the favour he enjoyed, and that he desired to receive the salary without taking any share whatever in the labour, he bethought himself of another method for disgracing him, and making it publicly and fully evident that he had very little knowledge of the matter in hand. He consequently made the following discourse to the Wardens (Operai), Lorenzo being present:—"Signori Operai, if the time we have to live were as well secured to us as is the certainty that we may very quickly die, there is no doubt whatever that many works would be completed, which are now commenced and left imperfect. The malady with which I have had the misfortune to be attacked, might have deprived me of life, and put a stop to this work; wherefore, lest I should again fall sick, or Lorenzo either, which God forbid, I have considered that it would be better for each to execute his own portion of the work: as your worships have divided the salary, let us also divide the labour, to the end that each, being incited to show what he knows and is capable of performing, may proceed with confidence, to his own honour and benefit, as well as to that of the republic. Now there are two difficult operations which must at this time be put into course of execution—the one is the erection of scaffoldings for enabling the builders to work in safety, and which must be prepared both for the inside and outside of the fabric, where they will be required to sustain the weight of the men, the stones and the mortar, with space also for the crane to draw up the different materials, and for other machines and tools of various kinds. The other difficulty is the chain-work, which has to be constructed upon the twelve braccia already erected, this being requisite to bind and secure the eight sides of the Cupola, and which must surround the fabric, enchaining the whole, in such a manner, that the weight which has hereafter to be laid on it shall press equally on all sides, the parts mutually support-

ing each other, so that no portion of the edifice shall be too heavily pressed on or over-weighted, but that all shall rest firmly on its own basis. Let Lorenzo then take one of these works, whichever he may think he can most easily execute, I will take the other and answer for bringing it to a successful conclusion, that we may lose no more time." Lorenzo having heard this, was compelled, for the sake of his honour, to accept one or other of these undertakings; and although he did it very unwillingly, he resolved to take the chain-work, thinking that he might rely on the counsels of the builders, and remembering also that there was a chain-work of stone in the vaulting of San Giovanni di Fiorenza, from which he might take a part, if not the whole, of the arrangement. One took the scaffolds in hand accordingly, and the other the chain-work, so that both were put in progress. The scaffolds of Filippo were constructed with so much ingenuity and judgment, that in this matter the very contrary of what many had before expected was seen to have happened, since the builders worked thereon with as much security as they would have done on the ground beneath, drawing up all the requisite weights and standing themselves in perfect safety.[33] The models of these scaffolds were deposited in the hall of the Wardens. Lorenzo executed the chain-work on one of the eight walls with the utmost difficulty, and when it was finished the Wardens caused Filippo to look at it. He said nothing to them, but with some of his friends he held discourse on the subject, declaring that the building required a very different work of ligature and security to that one, laid in a manner altogether unlike the method there adopted; for that this would not suffice to support the weight which was to be laid on it, the pressure not being of sufficient strength and firmness. He added that the sums paid to Lorenzo, with the

[33] The original drawing of one of these scaffoldings was in the library of the Senator Giovan Battista Nelli, and was published by him in 1753 (*Discorsi di Architettura*). Another drawing is in the *Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata*, 1820. See Milanesi, II. 357, note 1.

chain-work which he had caused to be constructed, were so much labour, time, and money thrown away. The remarks of Filippo became known, and he was called upon to show the manner that ought to be adopted for the construction of such a chain-work; wherefore, having already prepared his designs and models, he exhibited them immediately, and they were no sooner examined by the Wardens and other masters, than they perceived the error into which they had fallen by favouring Lorenzo. For this they now resolved to make amends; and desiring to prove that they were capable of distinguishing merit, they made Filippo chief and superintendent of the whole fabric for life, commanding that nothing should be done in the work but as he should direct. As a further mark of approbation, they presented him moreover with a hundred florins, ordered by the Syndics and Wardens, under date of August 13, 1423,[34] through Lorenzo Paoli, notary of the administration of the works, and signed by Gherardo di Messer Filippo Corsini: they also voted him an allowance of one hundred florins for life. Whereupon, having taken measures for the future progress of the fabric, Filippo conducted the works with so much solicitude and such minute attention, that there was not a stone placed in the building which he had not examined. Lorenzo on the other hand, finding himself vanquished and in a manner disgraced, was nevertheless so powerfully assisted and favoured by his friends, that he continued to receive his salary, under the pretext that he could not be dismissed until the expiration of three years from that time.[35]

Drawings and models were meanwhile continually prepared by Filippo, for the most minute portions of the building, for the stages or scaffolds for the workmen, and for the machines used in raising the materials. There were never-

[34] February 4, 1425, Brunelleschi was confirmed "*provveditore*" *together* with Ghiberti; it was not till April 13, 1443, that he (Brunelleschi) was appointed to the sole headship. See Milanesi, II. 358, note 2.

[35] Brunelleschi's monthly salary from 1425 to 1443 had been raised from three to fifty and finally to one hundred florins. Ghiberti, on the other hand, never received more than three florins.

theless several malicious persons, friends of Lorenzo, who did not cease to torment him by daily bringing forward models in rivalry of those constructed by him, insomuch that one was made by Maestro Antonio da Verzelli,[36] and other masters who were favoured and brought into notice—now by one citizen and now by another, their fickleness and mutability betraying the insufficiency of their knowledge and the weakness of their judgment, since having perfection within their reach, they perpetually brought forward the imperfect and useless.

The chain-work was now completed around all the eight sides, and the builders, animated by success, worked vigorously; but being pressed more than usual by Filippo, and having received certain reprimands concerning the masonry and in relation to other matters of daily occurrence, discontents began to prevail. Moved by this circumstance and by their envy, the chiefs among them drew together and got up a faction, declaring that the work was a laborious and perilous undertaking, and that they would not proceed with the vaulting of the Cupola but on condition of receiving large payments, although their wages had already been increased and were much higher than was usual: by these means they hoped to injure Filippo and increase their own gains. This circumstance displeased the Wardens greatly, as it did Filippo also; but the latter, having reflected on the matter, took his resolution, and one Saturday evening he dismissed them all. The men seeing themselves thus sent about their business, and not knowing how the affair would turn, were very sullen; but on the following Monday Filippo set ten Lombards to work at the building, and by remaining constantly present with them, and saying, "do this here," and "do that there," he taught them so much in one day that they were able to continue the works during many weeks. The masons seeing themselves thus disgraced as well as deprived of their employment, and

[36] He was a carpenter who in 1423 received a florin as payment for a device for raising stones.

knowing that they would find no work equally profitable, sent messengers to Filippo, declaring that they would willingly return, and recommending themselves to his consideration. Filippo kept them for several days in suspense, and seemed not inclined to admit them again; they were afterwards reinstated, but with lower wages than they had received at first: thus where they had thought to make gain they had suffered loss, and by seeking to revenge themselves on Filippo, they brought injury and shame on their own heads.

The tongues of the envious were now silenced, and when the building was seen to proceed so happily, the genius of Filippo obtained its due consideration; and, by all who judged dispassionately, he was already held to have shown a boldness which has, perhaps, never before been displayed in their works, by any architect ancient or modern. This opinion was confirmed by the fact that Filippo now brought out his model, in which all might see the extraordinary amount of thought bestowed on every detail of the building. The varied invention displayed in the staircases, in the provision of lights, both within and without, so that none might strike or injure themselves in the darkness, were all made manifest, with the careful consideration evinced by the different supports of iron which were placed to assist the footsteps wherever the ascent was steep. In addition to all this, Filippo had even thought of the irons for fixing scaffolds within the Cupola, if ever they should be required for the execution of mosaics or pictures; he had selected the least dangerous positions for the places of the conduits, to be afterwards constructed for carrying off the rain-water, had shown where these were to be covered and where uncovered; and had moreover contrived different outlets and apertures, whereby the force of the winds should be diminished, to the end that neither vapours nor the vibrations of the earth should have power to do injury to the building: all which proved the extent to which he had profited by his studies, during the many years of his residence in Rome.

When, in addition to these things, the Superintendents considered how much he had accomplished in the shaping, fixing, uniting, and securing the stones of this immense pile, they were almost awe-struck on perceiving that the mind of one man had been capable of all that Filippo had now proved himself able to perform. His powers and facilities continually increased, and that to such an extent, that there was no operation, however difficult and complex, which he did not render easy and simple; of this he gave proof in one instance among others, by the employment of wheels and counterpoises to raise heavy weights, so that one ox could draw more than six pairs could have moved by the ordinary methods. The building had now reached such a height, that when a man had once arrived at the summit, it was a very great labour to descend to the ground, and the workmen lost much time in going to their meals, and to drink; they also suffered great inconvenience in the heat of the day from the same cause; arrangements were therefore made by Filippo, for opening wine-shops and eating-houses in the Cupola; where the required food being sold, none were compelled to leave their labour until the evening, which was a relief and convenience to the men, as well as a very important advantage to the work. Perceiving the building to proceed rapidly, and finding all his undertakings happily successful, the zeal and confidence of Filippo increased, and he laboured perpetually: he went himself to the ovens where the bricks were made, examined the clay, proved the quality of the working, and when they were baked he would select and set them apart, with his own hands. In like manner, while the stones were under the hands of the stone-cutters, he would look narrowly to see that they were hard and free from clefts; he supplied the stone-cutters with models in wood or wax, or hastily cut on the spot from turnips, to direct them in the shaping and junction of the different masses; he did the same thing for the men who prepared the iron-work; Filippo likewise invented hooked hinges, with the mode of fixing them to

the door-posts, and greatly facilitated the practice of architecture, which was certainly brought by his labours to a perfection that it would else perhaps never have attained among the Tuscans.

In the year 1423,[37] when the utmost rejoicing and festivity was prevailing in Florence, Filippo was chosen one of the *Signori* for the district of San Giovanni, for the months of May and June,[38] Lapo Niccolini being chosen Gonfalonier for the district of Santa Croce: and if Filippo be found registered in the Priorista as "di Ser Brunellesco Lippi," this need not occasion surprise, since they called him so after his grandfather, Lippo, instead of "di Lapi," as they ought to have done. And this practice is seen to prevail in the Priorista, with respect to many others, as is well known to all who have examined it, or who are acquainted with the custom of those times. Filippo performed his functions carefully in that office, and in others connected with the magistracy of the city, to which he was subsequently appointed, he constantly acquitted himself with the most judicious consideration.

The two vaults of the Cupola were now approaching their close, at the circular window where the lanthorn was to begin, and there now remained to Filippo, who had made various models in wood and clay, both of the one and the other, in Rome and Florence, to decide finally as to which of these he would put in execution,[39] wherefore he resolved

[37] Rather 1425.

[38] In 1434 Brunelleschi's rivals, finding that he had forgotten or did not trouble himself to pay his taxes, took advantage of the fact and had him thrown into prison, whence he was speedily liberated, the consuls of the guild of builders who had accused him being imprisoned in their turn. Baldinucci discovered and printed the document relating to the decree; it is dated August 20, 1434. See Guasti, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, page 54.

[39] Of his models there still remain a wooden one of the outer cupola and drum; another showing the staircase between the outer and inner domes; one of the magazines beneath the drum and two machines for raising weights. Milanesi thinks that the small model of the lantern cannot be by Brunelleschi, as it shows none of the internal arrangement. See Milanesi, II. 362, 2.

Herr von Fabriczy, in his Life of Brunelleschi, does not claim that the latter

to complete the gallery, and accordingly made different plans for it, which remained in the hall of the Wardens after his death, but which by the neglect of those officials, have since been lost. But it was not until our own days, that, even a fragment was executed on a part of one of the eight sides, (to the end that the building might be completed,) but as it was not in accordance with the plan of Filippo, it was removed by the advice of Michelagnolo Buonarotti,[40] and was not again attempted.

Filippo also constructed a model for the lantern [41] with his own hand; it had eight sides, the proportions were in harmony with those of the Cupola, and for the invention as well as variety and decoration, it was certainly very beautiful. He did not omit the staircase for ascending to the ball, which was an admirable thing; but as he had closed the entrance with a morsel of wood fixed at the lower part, no one but himself knew its position. Filippo was now highly renowned, but notwithstanding this, and although he had already overcome the envy and abated the arrogance of so many opponents, he could not yet escape the vexation of finding that all the masters of Florence, when his model had been seen, were setting themselves to make others in various manners; nay, there was even a lady of the Gaddi family, who ventured to place her knowledge in competition with that of Filippo. The latter, meanwhile, could not refrain from laughing at the presumption of these

had any great part in the "æsthetics," the ornamentation of the dome, nor any part in the cornice or perhaps in the semi-circular *ædiculi*, but he thinks that the lantern in its *ensemble* looks like Filippo's work.

[40] Who said that it looked "like a *gabbia da grillo*" (a cricket's cage). It was designed by Baccio d'Agnolo and remains to-day as it was left unfinished at the time, running partially around the dome. To understand this remark of Michelangelo, one should be familiar with the Florentine custom of annually catching crickets on Ascension Day, and putting them in little wicker cages.

[41] The following artists presented models for the lantern: Filippo himself, Ghiberti, Antonio Manetti, Bruno di Ser Lapo Mazzei, and Domenico Stagnajo; the competition was decided in Filippo's favor December 31, 1436. See the *Metropolitana Illustrata*, pp. 29–32, quoted by Milanesi.

people, and when he was told by certain of his friends that he ought not to show his model to any artist lest they should learn from it, he replied that there was but one true model, and that the others were good for nothing. Some of the other masters had used parts of Filippo's model for their own, which, when the latter perceived, he remarked, "The next model made by this personage will be mine altogether." The work of Filippo was very highly praised, with the exception, that, not perceiving the staircase by which the ball was to be attained, the model was considered defective on that point. The Superintendents determined, nevertheless, to give him the commission for the work, but on condition that he should show them the staircase; whereupon Filippo, removing the morsel of wood which he had placed at the foot of the stair, showed it constructed as it is now seen, within one of the piers, and presenting the form of a hollow reed or blow-pipe, having a recess or groove on one side, with bars of bronze, by means of which the summit was gradually attained. Filippo was now at an age which rendered it impossible that he should live to see the lanthorn completed; he therefore left directions, by his will, that it should be built after the model here described, and according to the rules which he had laid down in writing, affirming that the fabric would otherwise be in danger of falling, since, being constructed with the pointed arch, it required to be rendered secure by means of the pressure of the weight to be thus added. But, though Filippo could not complete the edifice before his death, he raised the lanthorn to the height of several braccia, causing almost all the marbles required for the completion of the building to be carefully prepared and brought to the place.[42] At the sight of these huge masses as they arrived,

[42] The first stone of the lantern, placed in 1445, was blessed by Sant' Antonino; the last, placed in 1461, received the benediction of Archbishop Giovanni Neroni before the Chapter, the Signory, and the Gonfaloniere, according to Moreni, *Due Vite del Brunellesco;* but Milanesi remarks that as Sant' Antonino became archbishop in 1446, there must be some error about his having consecrated the corner-stone of the lantern.

the people stood amazed, marvelling that it should be possible for Filippo to propose the laying of such a weight on the Cupola. It was, indeed, the opinion of many intelligent men that it could not possibly support that weight. It appeared to them to be a piece of good fortune that he had conducted it so far, and they considered the loading it so heavily to be a tempting of Providence.* Filippo constantly laughed at these fears, and having prepared all the machines and instruments required for the construction of the edifice, he ceased not to employ all his time in taking thought for its future requirements, providing and preparing all the minutiæ, even to guarding against the danger of the marbles being chipped as they were drawn up; to which intent the arches of the tabernacles were built within defences of wood-work; and for all beside the master gave models and written directions, as we have said.

How beautiful this building is, it will itself bear testimony. With respect to the height, from the level ground to the commencement of the lantern, there are one hundred and fifty-four braccia; the body of the lantern is thirty-six braccia high; the copper ball four braccia; the cross eight braccia; in all two hundred and two braccia.[43] And it may be confidently affirmed that the ancients never carried their buildings to so vast a height,[44] nor committed themselves to so great a risk as to dare competition with the heavens, which this structure verily appears to do, seeing that it rears

* "*Un tentare Dio*," a tempting of God.

[43] The ball, with the cross (the work of Andrea Verrocchio, whose life follows), was fixed in its place twenty-three years after the death of Brunelleschi; but, having been thrown down by the lightning in the year 1601, it has been replaced by one somewhat larger.—*Masselli.*

[44] It exceeds the cupola of the Vatican, both in height and circumference, by four braccia; and although supported by eight ribs only, which renders it much lighter than that of the Vatican, which has sixteen flanking buttresses, it is nevertheless more solid and firm. Thus it has never required to be supported by circling hoops of iron. See the *Tempio Vaticano* of Fontani, the *Discorsi dell' Architettura*, etc. Schorn remarks that the columns on the south side did at first shrink a little, which caused some slight cracks, but they were immediately closed.—*German Edition*, vol. II., p. 204, quoted by Mrs. Foster.

itself to such an elevation that the hills around Florence do not appear to equal it.[45] And of a truth it might seem that the heavens did feel envious of its height, since their lightnings perpetually strike it. While this work was in progress, Filippo constructed many other fabrics, which shall now be enumerated in their due order.

For the family of the Pazzi, Filippo prepared, with his own hand, the model for the chapter-house of Santa Croce, in Florence, a work of great and varied beauty.[46] He likewise made a model of the Busini Palace,[47] a dwelling calculated for two families,[48] as also the model for the house and loggia of the Innocenti, the vaulting of which was completed without scaffolding, a method which is still observed in the present day. It is said that Filippo was invited to Milan, to construct the model of a fortress for the Duke Filippo Maria, and that he left the building of the house of the Innocenti meanwhile to the care of his intimate friend Francesco della Luna.[49] This Francesco made the bordering of an architrave increasing from the upper to the lower

[45] The solemn consecration of the cupola (not the lantern) took place in 1436. In May, 1887, the new *façade* of the cathedral designed by Emilio de Fabris was inaugurated. The citizens showed a true Florentine interest in their monument and for some months the whole town was divided into two hostile factions by the question whether the *façade* should have a basilical or tricuspidal coronal termination. Meetings were held, votes were taken, and registers in the *caffs* and other public places received the signatures even of school-boys. The basilical termination was finally adopted in spite of the protests of the tricuspidal party. For copious statistics regarding the *façade*, see the two extra numbers printed by the *Illustrazione Italiana*, May, 1887.

[46] M. Müntz in his *Primitifs* contrasts this chapel of the Pazzi, built after 1420, with the Badia of Fiesole, the Pitti Palace, and San Lorenzo. In the last three Brunelleschi admitted only such ornament as was strictly architectural, excluding painting and sculpture. In the Pazzi chapel he borrowed from antiquity its decorative richness and sought lightness, grace, and elegance. See *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., for a review of Herr von Fabriczy's life of Brunelleschi, and the conclusion, that in spite of Vasari, the Pazzi chapel was not begun till after 1430. The interior is decorated by Luca della Robbia, G. da Majano, Donatello, and Desiderio.

[47] Now Palazzo Quaratesi in the Piazza Ognissanti.

[48] Begun in 1421, finished in 1445. It still exists and is an example of the simplicity with which Brunelleschi produced a pleasing effect.

[49] The hospital was finished in 1445 by della Luna.

part, which is a violation of architectural rules. When Filippo returned, and reproached him for having done such a thing, Francesco replied that he had taken it from the church of San Giovanni, which is antique. "One sole fault," answered Filippo, "is to be found in that building, and that thou hast imitated." The model of this edifice, by Filippo's own hand, was for many years to be seen in the house of the Guild of Por Santa Maria, and was highly valued, as a portion of the fabric still remained to be finished, but it is now lost. Filippo likewise prepared the model for the abbey of the Canons-regular of Fiesole, for Cosimo de' Medici.[50] The architecture is of a richly-decorated character, and the building is cheerful, commodious, and truly magnificent. The church, of which the vaultings are coved, is lofty, and the sacristy has its due conveniences, as have all the buildings of the monastery. But the circumstance most worthy of consideration, and most important, is, that having to erect that edifice, properly levelled, on the declivity of the mountain, he availed himself with infinite judgment, of the descent, and placed therein the cellars, laundries, bakehouses, kitchens, stables, wood chambers, and many other offices beside, so that it is not possible to imagine anything more commodious. He thus secured a level space for the edifice; insomuch that he was able to place the loggia, the refectory, the infirmary, the noviciate, the dormitory, the library, and other principal apartments proper to a monastery, on the same plane: all which was executed at his own cost by the magnificent Cosimo de' Medici, who was moved to this partly by the piety which he constantly displayed in all matters touching the Christian faith, and partly by the affection which he bore to Don Timoteo da Verona, a most excellent preacher of the above-mentioned order, in whose conversation he took so much

[50] This Badia is exceedingly simple, almost bare, but is of great elegance. According to C. von Fabriczy, *op. cit.*, the Badia of Fiesole is probably by Filippo, the Innocenti Hospital is proved to be his, and the second cloister of Sta. Croce greatly resembles his work. The Loggia of San Paolo is probably not by him.

pleasure, that, for the better enjoyment thereof, he caused several rooms to be constructed in the monastery for his own use, and occasionally resided in them. On this building, Cosimo expended one hundred thousand scudi, as may be seen on an inscription still remaining there. The model for the fortress of Vicopisano was likewise prepared by Filippo,[51] who moreover designed the old citadel of Pisa, and by whom the Ponte a Mare was also fortified.[52] In like manner he also gave the design for the new citadel, whereby the bridge was closed by the two towers, and made the model for the fortifications of the harbour of Pesaro. Having then returned to Milan, he prepared the designs of various works for the duke, among others, the plans for the masters who were constructing the cathedral of that city.

It was at this time that the church of San Lorenzo, in Florence, was commenced[53] by the inhabitants, who had chosen the prior superintendent of the building. That personage made profession of much knowledge in that matter, and busied himself with architecture by way of pastime. The edifice was already commenced, with columns constructed of brick, when Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, who had promised the inhabitants and the prior to build the sacristy and one of the chapels at own expense, invited Filippo one day to dine with him. After conversing on various matters, Giovanni asked what he thought of the commencement made at San Lorenzo. Filippo was constrained by the entreaties of Giovanni, to give his opinion, and truth compelled him to point out many faults, the consequence of its being directed by a person who had, perhaps, more learning than practical experience in matters of that kind. Thereupon Giovanni inquired of Filippo if a better and more beautiful fabric could be devised, to which Filippo replied, "Without doubt, and I wonder that you, who are the chief of the undertaking, do not expend a few thousand crowns, and build such a church, with its proper appurtenances, as might be worthy of the place, and of the

[51] In 1436. [52] In 1415. [53] Or rather recommenced.

many noble families whose sepulchres are there. Moreover, if you were seen to commence the work, these families would then set about building their chapels to the very best of their ability, and the more readily, as knowing that no memorial remains of our existence but the walls, which bear testimony to those who erected them, hundreds or thousands of years before." Encouraged by the words of Filippo, Giovanni determined to construct the sacristy, the principal chapel, and the whole body of the church, although seven families only were willing to aid in the building, the remainder not possessing the means. Those who took part in the work were the Rondinelli, Ginori, Dalla Stufa, Neroni, Ciai, Marignolli, Martelli and Marco di Luca, whose chapels were all to be made in the cross aisle. The sacristy was the first portion of the structure put in progress, and afterwards the church gradually proceeded; but, as it went on very slowly, the remaining chapels were granted by degrees to various Florentine citizens. The roof of the sacristy was not completed when Giovanni de' Medici departed to another life,[54] leaving Cosimo his son, who possessing more zeal than his father, and taking pleasure in the memorials of other times, caused the edifice to proceed. This was the first building that he constructed, and he found so much enjoyment in the occupation, that from that time forward, he continued constantly building, even to his death. Cosimo pressed forward the work in hand with infinite zeal, and while one part was in progress,

[54] Giovanni d'Averardo, called Bicci de' Medici, never intended to do more than build the sacristy, with two chapels, one within it, and one close to it; and these buildings were completed when Giovanni died, in 1428. The principal chapel, with the whole body of the church, is due to Cosimo, *Pater patriæ*, who, seeing that the chapter could not be brought to an agreement on the subject, pledged himself to construct the foundations of these two works. The sacristy of San Lorenzo may be called the first building of the Renaissance. Filippo did not throw down the pre-existing walls, and Giovanni d'Averardo de' Medici paid for only the sacristy and its dependency, Cosimo for the Capella Maggiore and Tribune. The interior is fine, but the cupola is poor and low. Little of the exterior is by Filippo, and the cloister postdates him.

he caused others to be carried to completion. So much pleasure did he take in the work, that he was almost always present himself; and his eagerness was such that, while Filippo erected the sacristy, he made Donato prepare the ornaments in stucco, with the stone decorations of the small doors, and the doors of bronze. In the centre of the sacristy, used by the priests for assuming their vestments, Cosimo caused the tomb of his father Giovanni to be constructed, beneath a broad slab of marble, supported by four small columns; and in the same place he made a sepulchre for his family, wherein he separated the tombs of the men from those of the women. In one of the two small rooms which are on each side of the sacristy, having the altar between them, he made a well in one corner, with a place for a lavatory. The whole work, in short, is seen to have been completed with much judgment.[55] Giovanni and the masters first employed, had determined to construct the choir in the centre, and beneath the tribune, but this Cosimo altered at the request of Filippo, who increased the size of the principal chapel,—which was at first assigned but a small recess,—so that the choir could be made as we see it in the present day. This being finished, there still remained the central tribune and the remainder of the church, which tribune and the rest was not vaulted until after the death of Filippo. The length of this church is one hundred and forty-four braccia.[56]

[55] M. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) calls San Lorenzo the "first of modern sanctuaries in point of date." He notes the substitution of the soffit with caissons for the pointed Gothic vaulting, of the antique colonnade for Gothic piers, the interposition between capitals and the arches which bear upon them of an intermediate entabulature with architrave, frieze, and cornice. He criticises the "somewhat artificial and pretentious appearance" given by this disposition, which is nevertheless directly inspired by Roman work. Baron von Geymuller affirms that the actual building of the nave of San Lorenzo was not yet commenced at the time of Filippo's death.

[56] At the death of Brunelleschi the sacristy of San Lorenzo was finished; but not so the cross-aisle of the church, nor yet the small tribune, which was completed, both within and without, in a manner deviating widely from the plans of Brunelleschi. The architect who ruined his idea was Antonio Manetti, as we learn from a letter published by Gaye, vol. I., p. 167 *et seq.*; Milanesi II., p. 371, n. 1.

Many errors may be perceived in it: among others, that of the pilasters being placed on the ground, instead of being raised on a dado, the height of which should have been equal to the level of the bases supporting the columns, which are placed on the steps; since the consequence of the pilaster being shorter than the column is, that the whole work looks stunted and ungraceful. But all this was caused by the counsels of those who came after Filippo, who envied his fame, and who had made models for the purpose of opposing his views during his lifetime. For these they had been rendered contemptible, by sonnets which Filippo had written; and in this manner they avenged themselves after his death, not in this work only, but in all that remained to be executed by them. Filippo left the model of San Lorenzo complete, and a part of the capitular buildings for the priests was finished, making the cloister one hundred and forty-four braccia in length.

While this fabric was in course of erection, Cosimo de' Medici resolved to construct his own palace, and forthwith imparted his intentions to Filippo, when the latter set every other occupation aside, and made him a large and very beautiful model for the building, which he intended to erect on the Piazza, opposite to San Lorenzo, proposing that it should stand entirely isolated on every side. On this occasion the genius and art of Filippo were so nobly displayed, that Cosimo, believing the building would be too vast and sumptuous, could not resolve to have it executed, but he abandoned it more in fear of envy, than because he was deterred by the expense. Whilst this model was in progress, Filippo used to say, that he thanked his fortune for so fair an opportunity, since he had now a house to build, such as he had desired to have for many years; but when he heard the determination of Cosimo not to put his design into execution, he broke the model, in his anger, into a thousand pieces. And deeply did Cosimo repent of not having adopted the plans of Filippo, when at a later period he had built his palace on a different model; and when alluding to Filippo,

he would often say, that he had never spoken with a man of higher intelligence or bolder mind, than was possessed by Brunellesco. For the noble family of the Scolari, Filippo made the model of that most fanciful and remarkable church of the Angeli,[57] which remained incomplete and in the state wherein we now see it, because the Florentines spent the money (which was placed in the Monte for the expenses of the building), for certain exigencies of their city, or as some say, in the wars which they then carried on against the Lucchesi, and wherein they also expended the funds which had been left in like manner by Niccolò da Uzzano, to erect the college of the Sapienza, as we have related at length elsewhere. And of a truth, if this church of the Angeli had been completed according to the model of Brunellesco, it would have been one of the most extraordinary buildings in Italy; since that which we see of it cannot be sufficiently praised. The drawings for the ground-plan, and those for the completion of this octagonal temple by the hand of Filippo, are preserved in our book with other designs of the same master.

In a place called Ruciano, outside the gate of San Niccolò at Florence, Filippo constructed a rich and magnificent palace for Messer Luca Pitti, but this was not by any means equal to that which he commenced for the same person within the city of Florence, and which he completed to the second range of windows, with so much grandeur and magnificence, that no more splendid or more beautiful edifice in the Tuscan manner has yet been seen.[58] The doors of this

[57] There are still fine remains of the foundations of this church to be seen in Via degli Alfani. The church was to have been built according to a vow of the famous Pippo Spano (degli Scolari) and dedicated to the Twelve Apostles.

[58] Vasari and the *Anonimo* Gaddiano are the first authors who attributed the Pitti to Filippo. This Titanic palace has been greatly changed since Brunelleschi's time. In the fifteenth century, as can be seen in a view of Florence reproduced in M. Müntz's book (*Les Primitifs*, p. 50), the first, like the second story, had but seven windows (see the sumptuary laws of the time), and M. Müntz regrets that the idea of giving a lesser development to the second story than to the first does not belong to Brunelleschi. The wings of the

palace are double; the height of each fold being sixteen braccia and the breadth eight: the first and second ranges of windows being similar to the doors; the vaultings are also double, and the whole building is of such high art, that richer, more beautiful, or more magnificent architecture cannot be imagined. The builder of this palace was the Florentine architect Luca Fanelli, who executed many buildings for Filippo, and who constructed the principal chapel of the Nunziata in Florence, for Leon Batista Alberti, by whom it was designed at the command of Ludovico Gonzaga. Luca Fanelli was afterwards taken by Gonzaga to Mantua, where he executed many works, and having chosen a wife in that city, he there lived and died, leaving heirs, who, from his name, are still called the Luchi. The palace designed for Luca Pitti was purchased, not many years since, by the most illustrious lady, Leonora of Toledo, duchess of Florence, advised to do so by the most illustrious Signor, the duke Cosmo, her consort, and she so greatly enlarged the property in all directions, that she succeeded in forming a very extensive garden,[59] partly in the plain, partly on the summit of the hill, and partly on the declivities; this she filled with all kinds of trees, indigenous and exotic, very finely arranged, and caused beautiful groves to

lower story were also lacking in the *quattrocento*. On the other hand, it appears quite impossible that Filippo should ever have contemplated any such lame and impotent conclusion as is the balustrade which runs along the top of the palace. The French critic, in his admiration for the Pitti as a whole, wonders equally at the republican citizen who dared to dream of building such a palace, and at the artist, "who, in the most refined of epochs, turned backward to Cyclopean construction." He considers that it "took all the character of a Brunelleschi to make him disdain the most modest ornament" and rest in the conviction "that his conception would of itself suffice." According to C. von Fabriczy not Michelozzo's Medici palace, but Filippo's Pitti, became the prototype of Florentine palatial architecture; the Palazzo della Parte Guelfa greatly influenced architects, and the Pazzi Palace became the model seignorial habitation. The latter, founded *circa* 1445, finished *circa* 1474, was probably, though not certainly, designed by Filippo. At Rusciano only a part of a pre-existing villa was rebuilt by Filippo; the fine window in the court is not his. See C. von Fabriczy, *op. cit.*

[59] The famous Boboli gardens.

be planted of various kinds of evergreens, which flourish all the year round; to say nothing of the waters, fountains, fish-ponds, and aviaries, the espaliers, and many other things truly worthy of a magnanimous prince, which I do not describe, because it is impossible that he who does not see them should ever imagine their grandeur and beauty. And it is certain that duke Cosmo could not have found any undertaking more worthy of the elevation and greatness of his mind than the completion of this palace, which would seem to have been erected by Messer Luca Pitti, expressly for his most illustrious excellency. Messer Luca left it unfinished, being constantly occupied with his labours for the state; and his heirs, not having means wherewith to complete the building, were glad to give it up to the duchess, who continued to expend money on it during the whole of her life, but not to such an amount as to give hope that it could be quickly finished. It is true that she had intended, as I have heard, to expend 40,000 ducats on it in one year only, if she lived, to the end that she might see it if not finished, at least on the way to completion. The model of Filippo has not been found, and his excellency has therefore had another made by Bartolommeo Ammanati, an excellent sculptor and architect.[60] It is according to this that they are now working, and a great part of the inner court is already completed in rustic work, similar to that of the outer court. And of a truth, whoever reflects on the grandeur of this work will be amazed that the mind of Filippo was capable of conceiving a building so vast and so truly magnificent, not only in its external form, but also in the distribution of all its apartments. Of the views from this palace, which are most beautiful, I say nothing, nor yet of the pleasant hills which form almost an amphitheatre around the edifice, in the direction of the city walls, be-

[60] According to Baldinucci, quoted by Milanesi, a part of the design prepared by Giulio Parigi was also executed, while that of Paolo Falconetti was found too costly for execution. The modern architects, Paoletti, Poccianti, and Cacialli, have also made additions.

cause it would occupy me too long, as I have said, to describe these things in full, nor could any one who has not seen it, imagine how greatly this palace is superior to every other royal edifice.

It is said that the machinery for the "paradise" of San Felice in Piazza, in the same city, was invented by Filippo for the festival of the Annunciation, which was solemnized by a Representation, in the manner customary in old times among the Florentines. This was without doubt a most extraordinary thing, giving proof of great ability and industry in him who was the inventor, since there was the spectacle of a heaven full of living figures moving about on high, with an infinity of lights, which appeared and disappeared almost as does the lightning. All who could have described these things from their own knowledge are now dead, and the machinery itself is destroyed without a hope that it can ever be reconstructed, seeing that the place is no longer inhabited as of old by the monks of Camaldoli, but by the nuns of San Pier Martire; and also because the monastery of the Carmine suffered considerable injury from that machinery, which pulled down the timbers of the roof. I will therefore not refuse the labour of describing it exactly as it was. Filippo, then, for the purposes of this representation, had suspended between two of the beams which support the roof, the half of a globe, resembling an empty bowl, or rather the basin used by barbers, with the edge downwards; this half-globe was formed of light and thin planks, secured to an iron star, passing round the outer circle; they were narrowed towards the centre, the whole being held in equilibrium by a large ring of iron, around which moved the iron star, whereby the planks forming the basin were supported. The whole machine was upheld by a strong beam of pine-wood, well bound with iron, and placed across the main timbers of the roof: to this beam was fastened the ring which held the basin suspended and balanced; the latter, as seen from below, really presenting the appearance of a heaven. Within the lower edge of the

machine were then fixed brackets of wood, exactly large enough to give space for the feet to stand on, but not larger, above each of these, at the height of a braccia, was provided an iron fastening; this was done to the end that a child of about twelve years old might be placed on each bracket, and the child was so bound to the iron above that it could not possibly fall even if it would. These children, twelve in number, being arranged as we have said, were dressed to represent angels with gilded wings, and hair formed of gold threads; they took each other by the hand at the proper time, and waving their arms appeared to be dancing, the rather as the basin was perpetually moving and turning round. Within this concave frame-work and above the heads of the angels were fixed three chaplets or garlands of lights, formed of minute lamps that could not be overturned, and which when seen from below, had the appearance of stars. The brackets also, being covered with cotton wool, presented the semblance of clouds. From the ring above described, there proceeded a very strong iron bar with a second ring, to which was affixed a slender cord, descending towards the ground, as shall be explained in due time; this strong bar of iron had eight branches or arms, which revolved in an arc sufficiently large to fill the space of the hollow basin: at the end of each arm was a stand about the size of a plate, and on every stand was placed a child of about nine years old, well secured to an iron fixed in the upper part of the branch or vane, but yet in such a manner that it could turn itself in all directions. These eight angels, upheld by the above-mentioned iron bar, were gradually lowered by means of a small windlass, and descended from the hollow of the circular space, to the depth of eight braccia below the level of the wood-work supporting the roof, in such sort that they could be seen without concealing from view the twelve angels within the edge of the machine. In the centre of this *bouquet* of the eight angels (for so was it very appropriately called) was a halo or glory (*Mandorla*) of copper, wherein were

numerous perforations, displaying small lamps placed on an iron in the form of a tube, which, on the pressing down of a spring, was concealed within the copper "*mandorla*"; but when the spring was not pressed, all the lamps appeared lighted through the apertures formed for that purpose in the mandorla. When the group of angels had reached its appointed place, this mandorla, which was suspended by a small cord, was moved softly down by means of another little windlass, and descended gradually to the platform, whereon the representation was exhibited. At that point of the platform where the mandorla was to rest, an elevated place in the manner of a throne was erected, with four steps; in the centre of this elevation was an opening into which the pointed iron of the mandorla descended: the latter having reached its place, a man concealed beneath the throne fixed it securely, without being seen himself, by means of a bolt, so that it rested firmly on its own basis. Within the mandorla was a youth of about fifteen years old, in the guise of an angel; he was bound by an iron cincture to the centre of the mandorla, and secured at the foot of it also in such a manner that he could not fall; but to admit of his kneeling before the Virgin, the iron fastenings were divided into three pieces, which glided one within the other with an easy motion, as the youth knelt down. Then, when the *bouquet* of angels had descended, and the mandorla was fixed into its place, the man who had secured it by means of the bolt, also unfastened the iron which supported the angel, whereupon he, having issued forth, proceeded across the platform, and approaching the spot where sat the Virgin, he made his salutation and uttered the announcement. He then returned into the mandorla, and the lights, which had been extinguished on his leaving it, having been rekindled, the iron which supported him was again secured by the man concealed below, that which held the mandorla to its place was taken away, and the latter was drawn up; while the angels of the *bouquet*, and those who were moving about in the heaven above, all singing,

produced such an effect, that the show really appeared to be a paradise. And this illusion was the more effectually produced, because, in addition to the above-described choir of angels, and those forming the group, there was a figure representing God the Father, placed near the convex side of the basin, and surrounded by other angels similar to those already described; all arranged by the help of irons in such a manner, that the circle representing heaven, the group of angels, the figure of God the Father, the mandorla with its infinitude of light, and the exquisite accords of soft music, did truly represent paradise. Then to all this was added, that Filippo, for the purpose of permitting the heaven to open and shut, had caused two large folding-doors, each five braccia high, to be constructed, and had provided them with iron or copper rollers, running in groves beneath, and these last were well oiled, so that when a slender cord placed on each side was drawn by a little windlass, the doors open or shut as was desired; the two folds gradually retiring from or closing towards each other by means of the channels beneath as aforesaid. These doors, thus constructed, served a double purpose, the one that when they were moved their weight caused them to produce a sound resembling thunder, the other, that when closed they formed a stage whereon to arrange and make ready the angels, and prepare many other things which it was necessary to do out of sight. This machinery then, constructed as has been described, was invented by Filippo, with many other engines of various kinds, although there are those who affirm that they had been invented long before. However this may be, it was proper to speak of them, seeing that they are altogether gone out of use.

But we will now return to Filippo, whose name and renown had increased to such an extent that he was sent for from distant places by whomsoever proposed to erect important fabrics, all desiring to have their designs and models from the hand of so great a master, insomuch that powerful means were used, and much friendship displayed, for that

purpose. Thus the Marquis of Mantua, among others, desiring to secure the services of Filippo, wrote with very earnest instances respecting him to the Signoria of Florence, by whom the master was accordingly sent to the marquis in that city, where, in the year 1445, he prepared designs for the construction of dams on the Po, with other works, according to the wish of that prince, who caressed him infinitely, being wont to say that Florence was as worthy to number Filippo among her citizens as he to have so noble and beautiful a city for his birthplace.[61] At Pisa, in like manner, Filippo gave proof of his pre-eminence to the Count Francesco Sforza and Niccolo da Pisa, whom he had surpassed in the construction of certain fortifications, and who commended him in his presence, saying, that if every state possessed a man like Filippo, all might live in peace, without the use of arms. In Florence, also, Filippo gave the design for the Barbadori Palace, near the tower of the Rossi, in the suburb of San Jacopo, but this was not put in execution. He likewise prepared the design for the palace of the Giuntini, on the piazza d'Ognissanti sopr' Arno. At a subsequent period, the leaders of the Guelphic party, in Florence, determined to erect a building wherein there should be a hall, with an audience chamber, for the transaction of their affairs; and the care of this they entrusted to Francesco della Luna. The work was commenced, and was raised ten braccia from the ground, many faults having been com-

[61] According to Dr. Richter, Brunelleschi was allowed by the wardens to visit Mantua in 1431 and 1436. Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze*, p. 506, relates that Pope Eugenius IV., having requested an architect from Cosimo de' Medici, for certain works which he desired to execute, the latter sent him Brunelleschi, accompanied by a letter written with his own hand, wherein he says, "I send your Holiness a man of such immense capacity that he would have confidence enough to turn the world back on its axis." Having read the letter, his Holiness cast a glance at Filippo, and seeing him, as he was, so small and insignificant in appearance, he said with a pleasant manner, "This is the man whose courage would suffice to turn the world about." Whereupon Filippo replied, "Let your Holiness only give me the point whereon I can fix my lever, and I will then show what I can do." Bocchi subsequently adds, that Filippo returned to Florence loaded with honors and rich rewards.

mitted in it, when it was put into the hands of Filippo, who constructed the palace in the form, and with the magnificence which we now see. In the execution of this work, Filippo had to compete with the said Francesco, who was favoured by many, and this was indeed the case with Filippo while he lived; he was ever striving, now with this man, and now with that; for many were hostile to him, and contending with him, and causing him perpetual vexations; nay, they not unfrequently sought to gain honour for themselves from his designs, by which he was ultimately brought to refuse to show anything or to confide in any one. The hall of the above-named palace is no longer used by those captains of the Guelphs before mentioned, seeing that the flood of 1557 having done much injury to the papers of the *Monte*, Duke Cosimo, for the greater security of the writings appertaining thereto, and which are of the utmost importance, removed them, together with the offices of the institution, to that hall. But, to the end that the ancient staircase of this palace should still serve for the office of the captains, who had given up the hall, which is used as the Monte, and had retired to a different part of the palace, his excellency gave commission to Giorgio Vasari for the construction of the very commodious staircase which now ascends to the said hall of the Monte, and which was erected by him accordingly. A balcony of wrought stone has also been executed, from a design by the same architect, and this has been placed, according to the intentions of Filippo, on fluted columns of a hard grey stone, called *macigno*.

In the church of Santo Spirito, the sermons during Lent were one year preached by Maestro Francesco Zoppo, then very popular with the Florentines. In these sermons the preacher had earnestly recommended the claims of the convent and schools for youth, but more particularly those of the church which had been burnt about that time, to the consideration of his hearers.[62] Thereupon the chief per-

[62] The church was not burnt at that time—during the life of Brunelleschi, that is—but in 1471, which was many years after his death. Before the old

sons of that quarter, Lorenzo Ridolfi, Bartolommeo Corbinelli, Neri di Gino Capponi, and Goro di Stagio Dati, with many other citizens, obtained an order from the Signoria for the rebuilding of the church of Santo Spirito, of which they made Stoldo Frescobaldi proveditor. Frescobaldi, moved by the interest he felt in the old church, the high altar and principal chapel of which had been constructed by his family, devoted extraordinary care to the building; nay, from the very beginning, and before the funds had been gathered from those who, having chapels and burial-places in the church, were proportionally taxed for the purpose, he expended many thousands of scudi, of his own money, but which were afterwards repaid to him.

When the matter had been fully resolved on, Filippo was sent for, and he made a model, comprising all the requisites demanded for the due completion of a Christian temple, whether as regards utility or beauty. On this occasion Filippo laboured much to persuade those who had authority in the matter, to agree that an entire change should be made in the ground plan of the edifice, which he would have turned completely round, and this because he greatly desired that the space in front of the Church should extend to the shores of the Arno, to the end that he who arrived in the city from Genoa, and the Riviera, or from the Pisan and Lucchese territories, should behold the magnificence of this fabric. But as many of the citizens, unwilling to have their houses destroyed, refused to agree to this, the desire of Filippo did not take effect.[63] He made the model of the

church was destroyed, and at the instigation of the preacher, Fra Francesco Mellini, a new one had been commenced, much larger, and more magnificent than the former, but in immediate proximity to it, and according to the design of Brunelleschi. Stoldo Frescobaldi had been chosen proveditor as early as 1433. The conflagration then caused the building to be accelerated, insomuch that it was ready for the performance of Divine service in the year 1481. See Moreni, *Vita del Brunellesco*, p. 99, note 2, quoted by Milanesi, II., p. 380, note 2, from Moreni's *Vita del Brunellesco*.

[63] Any visitor to Florence can see that the disposition suggested by Brunelleschi for the Church of the Santo Spirito would have greatly added to the architectural dignity of that portion of the left bank of the Arno.

church, therefore, together with the buildings for the dwelling-place of the monks, in the form that we now see it. The length of the church was one hundred and sixty-one braccia, the breadth fifty-four, and the whole building is so well ordered that no work could be constructed, which, for the arrangement of the columns and other ornaments, would be richer, more graceful, or more airy than is this church of Santo Spirito.[64] Nay, were it not for the malevolence of those who perpetually ruin the beautiful commencement of things for the purpose of appearing to understand more than others, it would now be the most perfect church in Christendom. Even as it is, the building is more graceful and more conveniently arranged than any other, although it was not completed according to the model; this we perceive from the beginnings of certain parts of the outside, which have not been executed in accordance with the order observed within; as it appears that the model would have had the doors and the framework of the windows to do. There are some errors which I will not enumerate, and which are attributed to Filippo, but it is not to be believed that he would have endured their presence had he completed the building, seeing that all his works are brought to perfection with great judgment, prudence, ingenuity, and art, and that this building itself proves him to have possessed a genius truly sublime.

Filippo was truly facetious in conversation, and acute in repartee, as was shown on a certain occasion, when he desired to vex Lorenzo Ghiberti, who had bought a farm at Monte Morello, called Lepriano, on which he spent double the income that he derived from it. This caused Lorenzo great vexation, insomuch that he sold the farm. Filippo

[64] The Santo Spirito, commenced during Brunelleschi's life, was finished long after his death. Critics find many faults in its architecture. Still it is at once noble and beautiful, the composition of columns about the intersection of nave and transepts being especially striking and relieving by its picturesqueness the severity of the nave. If some richness of color had obtained here instead of the white and gray of the stone and stucco, a wonderfully rich and beautiful interior would have resulted.

was asked about that time, what was the best thing that Lorenzo had done—being expected perhaps to answer in terms of depreciation respecting the works of Lorenzo on account of the enmity between them—when he replied, "To sell Lepriano." At length when he had become very old (he was sixty-nine years of age that is to say), Filippo departed to a better life, on the 16th of April, 1446, after having laboured much in the performance of those works,[65] by which he earned an honoured name on earth, and obtained a place of repose in heaven. His death was deeply deplored by his country, which appreciated and esteemed him much more when dead than it had done while living. He was buried with most honourable and solemn obsequies in Santa Maria del Fiore, although his family sepulchre was in San Marco, beneath the pulpit and opposite the door, where may be found his escutcheon, bearing two fig-leaves with waves of green on a field of gold. His family belongs to the Ferrarese, and came from Ficaruolo, a castle on the Po, and this is expressed by the leaves, which denote the place, and by waves which signify the river. The death of Filippo was mourned by large numbers of his brother artists, more especially by those who were poor, and whom he constantly aided and benefited. Thus living in so Christian-like a manner he left to the world the memory of his excellence, and of his extraordinary talents. To me it appears that from the time of the Greeks and Romans to the present, there has appeared no more excellent or more admirable genius than Filippo; and he is all the more worthy of praise, because in his time the German (Gothic) manner was in high favour through all Italy, being that in practice among all the elder artists, as may be seen in numerous edifices. It was Filippo who revived the use of the antique cornices, and who restored the Tuscan, Corinthian, Doric, and Ionic orders to their primitive forms. He had a disciple from Borgo a Buggiano, who was called Il Buggiano; it was this artist who executed the lavatory of the sacristy of Santo Reparata,

[65] Filippo never married, but adopted a son.

where there are figures of children, by whom the water is poured forth. He also executed the portrait of his master, taken from the life, in marble, and this, after the death of Brunellesco, was placed in Santa Maria del Fiore, at the door on the right hand as you enter the church; where there is still to be seen the following epitaph, placed there on the part of the public to do him honour, after his death, as he had done honour to his country during his life.

"*Quantum Philippus architectus arte Dædalea valuerit, cum hujus celeberrimi templi mira testudo, tum plures aliæ divino ingenio ab eo adinventæ machinæ documento esse possunt. Quapropter ab eximias sui animi dotes, singularesque virtutes* XV *Kal. Maias anno* MCCCCXLVI *ejus b. m. corpus in hac humo supposita grata patria sepeliri jussit.*" *

To do the master the greater honour, the two inscriptions following were added by others.

"*Filippo* † *Brunellesco antiquæ architecturæ instauratori* S. P. Q. F. *civi suo benemerenti.*"

The second was written by Gio. Battista Strozzi, and is as follows:

"Tal sopra sasso sasso
Di giro in giro eternamente io strussi;
Che così, passo passo
Alto girando, al ciel mi ricondussi."

Filippo was unfortunate in some respects; for besides that he had always to be contending with one or another many of his buildings remained unfinished in his own time,

* This inscription is written as follows in the Milanesi edition:

D. S.

Quantum Philippus architectus arte dædalæ valuerit; cum huius celeberrimi templi mira testudo, tum plures machinæ divino ingenio ab eo adinventæ documento esse possunt. Quapropter ab eximias sui animi dotes, singularesque virtutes eius b. m. corpus, XV *Kal. Maias anno* MCCCCXLVI *in hæc humo supposita grata patria sepeliri iussit.*

† Read *Philippo* instead of *Filippo*.

nor have they all been completed at any subsequent period. Among these fabrics was that of the church of the Angeli, and it is indeed much to be regretted, that the monks of the Angeli could not complete the building commenced by Filippo, since after they had spent, on what we now see, more than 3,000 scudi, received partly from the Guild of the Merchants, and partly from the *Monte*, where the funds were placed, the capital was squandered, and the church remained unfinished as it still continues.[66] Wherefore, as we have remarked in the life of Niccolo da Uzzano, he who desires to leave a memorial of his existence in this kind, let him do it for himself while he has life, and not confide the

[66] M. Müntz calls Brunelleschi the Christopher Columbus of modern architecture and asserts that he created the latter as a complete entity. He adduces as the dominant trait in Brunelleschi's style his extreme sincerity, his rejection of all artifice and subterfuge, and his instinctive aversion to a habit, not uncommon in the Renaissance, of hiding poverty of form under profusion of ornament. A mathematician and engineer to the very centre of his being (his most famous work, the Cupola of Florence, is quite as much an engineering feat as an architectural performance), he "left formulæ for the resolution of all problems," and sinned, if at all, by excess of sobriety and gravity. In such buildings as the Badia of Fiesole and before some of the *loggie* of Florence one feels a certain coldness that is for a moment repelling, but which sets a key of severity and purity in which the Florentines were enabled to proceed to the elaboration of those half-architectural, half-sculptural compositions (such as their tombal monuments) which in their faultless and perfect taste were unrivalled outside of Tuscany even by the Italians of the Renaissance and were equalled only by the Greeks. M. Müntz emphasizes this austerity of Brunelleschi, and while admitting that the Italian architects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were not from the special point of view of architecture worthy to untie the shoes of a Brunelleschi, an Alberti, or a Bramante, he nevertheless regrets all the charming decorative fancies that were rejected for the "three orders," summing up his regrets and his appreciation in the statement that the Italians during the Gothic period had "become a people of decorators;" and that Brunelleschi made them "again a people of architects." Michelet in his *Histoire de France* has written magnificently of Brunelleschi as of one who "had the soul of Dante and his universal mind, but ruled and guided by another Beatrice, the divine music of numbers and of visible rhythm. Through her he escaped all other temptations, even that of sculpture, whose virile fascination held him for a time. Perspective, mechanics, and all the varied arts of the engineer guided him along the road which he followed in continuous pursuit of that Urania who imitates upon earth the measure of heaven and the eternity of the handiwork of God."

charge to any man, for what we have said of this church may be said of many other edifices planned by Filippo Brunelleschi.[67]

[67] There is a death-mask of Brunelleschi in the office of the director in the *Opera del Duomo* at Florence. The mask is reproduced on page 441 of *Les Primitifs, Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, by E. Müntz. It was made by Brunelleschi's adopted son, Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti. In the year 1830 the statues of the two architects who commenced and completed the cathedral—Arnolfo and Brunelleschi—executed by Luigi Pampaloni, were placed under a sort of loggia upon the Piazza del Duomo.

DONATO, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR[1]

[Born 1386; died 1466.]

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[1] He is called in the fiscal register of 1430 Donato di Niccolo di Betto Bardi, and is commonly known as Donatello or Donatello Fiorentino.

Donatello et la Facciata di S. M. del Fiore. Illustrazione Italiana, May, 1887.

The jubilee of the fifth centenary of Donatello (1887) called forth a great number of works upon the sculptor, only a portion of which are included in this bibliography. The monographs of M. Müntz and Herr Semper are exceedingly important, as are indeed many other of the above works, for the sculptor has been a subject for study ever since the sixteenth century, Bocchi's *Eccellenza della Statua di San Giorgio di Donatello* having been published in 1584.

THE sculptor Donato, called by his contemporaries Donatello, and who subscribes himself thus on some of his works, was born in Florence in the year 1386.[2] He devoted himself to the arts of design and was not only an excellent sculptor and admirable statuary, but was beside very skilful in works of stucco, well versed in the study of perspective, and highly esteemed as an architect. The productions of Donatello displayed so much grace and excellence, with such correctness of design, that they were considered to resemble the admirable works of the ancient Greeks and Romans more closely than those of any other master had ever done. Nor is it without good reason that he is acknowledged to be the first who conducted the practice of historical composition, in basso-rilievo, into the right path; his works of that kind giving proof of so much thought, power, and facility, that he is at once perceived to have had the true intelligence and mastery of that branch of art, which he exercised with extraordinary success, insomuch that he has not only remained unsurpassed in that style, but has never been equalled by any artist, even down to our own days.

Donatello was brought up from early childhood in the house of Ruberto Martelli, and by his many good qualities, as well as by his diligence in the study of art, he secured the affection, not only of Martelli himself, but of his whole family. This master produced many works in his youth,

[2] The year of Donatello's birth is uncertain. Gaye in his *Carteggio* cites three different dates as possible, namely, 1382, 1386, 1387. Milanesi concurs with the commonly accepted date of 1386.

but because they were many, they were not considered to be of any great account.[3] The work which obtained him a name, and caused him to be known for what he really was, was an Annunciation, executed in the stone called *macigno*,[4] which was placed near the altar and chapel of the Cavalcanti family, in the church of Santa Croce, in Florence. Around this he executed an ornament in the *grotesque* manner, with a basement variously decorated and finished above in round arches. He added six[5] boys who are bearing garlands; they appear to be holding each other closely as if in fear of the height, and to be thus seeking to secure themselves.[6] But it is in the figure of the Virgin that he has principally displayed his art. Alarmed by the unexpected appearance of the angel, her movements betray timidity, yet, with great sweetness and most becoming reverence, she turns herself with an exquisite grace towards him who is saluting her, insomuch that one perceives in her countenance the humility and gratitude due to one who presents an unexpected gift, and which are all the more deeply felt, the more important is the benefit received. In the draperies of this madonna moreover, and in those of the angel, Donato exhibited much ability; they float off from the figures in graceful folds, the nude forms are displayed through them with masterly skill, and prove his determination to

[3] Masselli states that Donatello studied painting under Lorenzo di Bicci. He was admitted into the academy of St. Luke as a painter in 1412.

[4] *Macigno*, a fine-grained sandstone, is found in its perfection at Fiesole, and is sometimes called *Pietra fesulana* from this circumstance.

[5] It is still in place. There are only four of these boys (not six). They are carved in *wood;* portions of the *macigno* relief of the Annunciation are gilded.

[6] C. C. Perkins, in the American Archæological Journal (I. 4) gives Donatello the credit of restoring the *putto* (to use the Italian name), which had virtually been banished since the days of antiquity. *Putti*, however, were found very frequently before Donatello's time; see, for example, the frescoes of the Incoronata, at Naples; the Triumph of Faith, in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, and the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, in the Cathedral of Lucca, sculptured by Jacopo della Quercia. A fragment with *putti* in relief from the base of this tomb was sold to a Florentine, and until recently was in the Bargello; but it has been restored by Florence to the city of Lucca.

discover and restore that beauty of ancient art which had lain concealed for so many years: he gave evidence, in short, of so much power and art in this work, that design, judgment, and practised facility in the use of the chisel, could produce nothing finer, nor could better be desired. For the same church, beneath the roodloft, and beside the historical work of Taddeo Gaddi, Donato executed a Crucifix in wood, on which he bestowed extraordinary labour. When the work was completed, believing himself to have produced an admirable thing, he showed it to Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, his most intimate friend, desiring to have his opinion of it. Filippo, who had expected, from the words of Donato, to see a much finer production, smiled somewhat as he regarded it, and Donato seeing this, entreated him by the friendship existing between them, to say what he thought of it. Whereupon Filippo, who was exceedingly frank, replied, that Donato appeared to him to have placed a Clown on the cross, and not a figure resembling that of Jesus Christ, whose person was delicately beautiful, and in all its parts the most perfect form of man that had ever been born. Donato hearing himself censured where he had expected praise, and more hurt than he was perhaps willing to admit, replied, "If it were as easy to execute a work as to judge it, my figure would appear to thee to be Christ and not a boor; but take wood, and try to make one thyself."[1] Filippo, without saying anything more, returned home, and set to work on a Crucifix, wherein he laboured to surpass Donato, that he might not be condemned by his own judgment; but he suffered no one to know what he was doing. At the end of some months, the work was completed to the height of perfection, and this done, Filippo one morning invited Donato to dine with him, and the latter accepted the invitation. Thereupon, as they were proceeding together towards the house of Filippo,

[1] *Piglia del legno e fanne uno tu.* Donatello's Crucifix is now in the Bardi chapel of Santa Croce, Brunelleschi's is in the church of Santa Maria Novella.

they passed by the Mercato Vecchio, where the latter purchased various articles[8] and giving them to Donato, said, "Do thou go forward with these things to the house and wait for me there, I'll be after thee in a moment." Donato, therefore, having entered the house, had no sooner done so, than he saw the Crucifix, which Filippo had placed in a suitable light. Stopping short to examine the work, he found it so perfectly executed, that feeling himself conquered, full of astonishment, and, as it were, startled out of himself, he dropped the hands which were holding up his apron, wherein he had placed the purchases, when the whole fell to the ground, eggs, cheese, and other things, all broken to pieces and mingled together. But Donato, not recovering from his astonishment, remained still gazing in amazement and like one out of his wits when Filippo arrived, and inquired, laughing, "What hast thou been about, Donato? and what dost thou mean us to have for dinner, since thou hast overturned everything?" "I, for my part," replied Donato, "have had my share of dinner for to-day; if thou must needs have thine, take it. But enough said: to thee it has been given to represent the Christ; to me, boors only."

In the church of San Giovanni in the same city, Donato executed the sepulchral monument of the pope, Giovanni Coscia, who had been deposed from the pontificate by the Council of Constance. The monument to Coscia was erected at the cost of Cosimo de' Medici, who was the intimate friend of the deposed pontiff. For this tomb,[9] Donato exe-

[8] An annotator of the seventeenth century, who has written notes on the margin of a copy of Vasari, which afterwards came into the possession of the painter Cav. Bossi, remarks that "in those days painters did not play the gentleman as they do in our times."—Milanesi.

The annotator did not remember that in the fifteenth century even the richest burghers, like Filippo Strozzi, did their own marketing.

[9] M. E. Müntz, in his *Donatello*, claims that in this tomb of Pope John XXIII., Donatello and Michelozzo (who did the architectural and part of the sculptural work) created the *genre* of the fifteenth-century mausoleum. Michelozzo was Donatello's co-laborer, not his pupil; see the inscription in the Via Calzaioli at Florence, "In these houses of the Adimari, Donatello and

cuted the figure of the departed pope in gilded bronze, with those of Hope and Charity, in marble, all with his own hand; but the figure of Faith was done by his pupil Michelozzo. In the same church, and opposite to the work just described, is a figure of Santa Maria Maddalena, executed in wood, which is extremely beautiful and admirably finished: the penitent is seen consumed and exhausted by her rigid fastings and abstinence, insomuch that every part exhibits the perfection of an anatomical study, most accurately represented in all its parts.[10] In the Mercato Vecchio, on a column of granite, standing entirely apart, there is a figure of Plenty, by Donato, in the stone called *macigno forte*, which is so well done, that it has always been held in the highest estimation by artists and all men of judgment in matters of art.[11] The column on which this figure stands was formerly in San Giovanni, where the remaining columns of granite which sustain the inner cornice are still in their places; the one in question was taken away and a fluted column was placed in its stead, on which there once stood a statue of Mars, erected in the centre of the temple; but this last was removed, when the Florentines were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ.[12] The same master, while still very young, executed a figure of the prophet Daniel, in marble,[13] for the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore; and at a later period he produced one of San Giovanni Evangelista seated; this figure is four braccia high, it is clothed in very simple vestments and is much celebrated.[14] In the same place, at an

Michelozzo worked together like brothers," etc. The tomb was probably paid for by the heirs of Coscia. It was executed 1425–1433. The figures of Hope and Charity, as well as of Faith, are by Michelozzo.

[10] This work is still in the church.

[11] The statue remained till 1721, when, having been badly damaged by weather, a figure by G. B. Foggini was set in its place. The latter was removed, together with the column, in the recent demolition of the Mercato Vecchio.

[12] The column did not come from the Baptistery, and the latter was never a temple of Mars.

[13] Its fate is unknown.

[14] It was executed between 1408 and 1415, and is now in the Tribune of the Duomo, in a very dark chapel, where it can only be seen in exceptionally favor-

angle of the building, on that side which faces the Via del Cocomero, is the figure of an old man,[15] between two columns, which is executed more in the manner of the ancients, than is to be remarked in any other work by Donato; the head of this statue bearing the impress of the thoughts and cares which length of years bring to those who are exhausted by time and labour. Donato likewise executed for the same church the decorations of the organ,[16] which stands over the door of the old sacristy, where are those figures, so boldly sketched as we have before said, that in looking at them one almost believes them really to live and move. It may indeed be truly said of this master, that he effected as much by the superiority of his judgment as by the skill of his hand; seeing that many works are produced which appear very beautiful in the work-rooms where they are executed, but which, when taken thence and placed in another situation, in a

able weather. Few reproductions of it are published, and the statue is but little known, though it is one of the masterpieces of the sculptor.

M. Müntz says of it in his *Donatello* that it is the gravest and grandest figure of the fifteenth century, and that Michelangelo's Moses is "contained in germ" in this statue.

[15] Probably the statue called Poggio Bracciolini, now in the interior of the church. Dr. Bode believes that this statue was executed between 1415 and 1425, in which case it could not be the portrait of Poggio. Its realism, forceful and subtle at once, is not excelled by anything which came from the master's chisel.

[16] This organ-loft was taken down in 1688, and the architectural portions were laid aside and forgotten. The *bas-reliefs* of dancing Cupids were preserved in the Uffizi and afterwards in the Bargello. Recently, during the work upon the new *façade* of the Duomo, there were found in a subterranean chapel, half-covered by rubbish, the consoles, cornices, etc., of the two organ-lofts of Donatello and of Luca della Robbia. Certain bronze angels' heads and ornaments were lacking, but enough remained for the reconstruction of the two lofts or *cantorie*. They are now in the Museum of the Opera del Duomo (Museo di Sta. Maria del Fiore); they are placed opposite each other, and a comparison of these two magnificent singing galleries is a most instructive lesson in decorative art. In spite of the exquisite elegance and purity of lines in Luca's famous reliefs, Donatello's organ-loft is superior in effect as a decorative whole. It was ordered by the Commune of Florence in 1433. For detailed history see *Sommario Storico e documenti relativi alle celebri cantorie antiche di Santa Maria del Fiore, Opera di Donatello e di Luca della Robbia*, Florence, 1887.

different light or higher position, present a much changed aspect, and turn out to be the reverse of what they appeared. Donato, on the contrary, treated his figures in such a manner, that while in the rooms where they were executed they did not produce one-half the effect which he had in fact secured to them, and which they exhibited when placed in the positions for which they had been calculated. For the new sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, Donatello gave the design of those boys who support the festoons, which decorate the frieze;[17] as also that of the figures executed in the circular window beneath the cupola. The subject is the Coronation of Our Lady, and the design of the work is greatly superior to that of the paintings in other windows, as is clearly obvious.[18] Donato also produced the statue of St. Peter, still to be seen in San Michele, in Orto, in the same city (Florence); an admirable figure, full of spirit, which he executed for the Guild of Butchers, with the figure of San Marco,[19] undertaken in the first instance in concert with Filippo Brunelleschi, for the Guild of Joiners,[20] but which Donatello afterwards finished by himself, an arrangement to which Filippo had consented. This figure was executed by Donato with so much judgment, that while standing on the ground its excellence was not obvious to those who were but imperfectly acquainted with matters of art, insomuch that the syndics of the Guild were not disposed to have it placed in the situation intended for it; whereupon Donato bade them suffer him to raise it to its due position, when he would so work at it that they should see a different figure

[17] These boys seem the prototypes of Desiderio's *putti*.

[18] In 1434 he made a design for a window, and was winner in a competition with Ghiberti.

[19] The statue of St. Peter is *in situ*. The figure of San Marco was executed in 1411. It must be admitted that Donatello was often very unequal in his work, and this inequality is noticeable in some of the figures of Or San Michele and the Campanile. The construction of Or San Michele was completed at the cost of the Commune of Florence. The ward of the church was given to the Guild of Silk. Each guild undertook to erect a statue of its patron saint in one of the niches of the walls.

[20] Not the Joiners, *Legnaiuoli*, but the Linen-drapers, *Linaiuoli*.

Donatello.

St George.

from that they then beheld. Having placed the statue accordingly, he shut it up for a fortnight, and then, without having touched it, uncovered his work to the admiration of all.

For the Guild of Armourers, Donatello executed a most animated figure of St. George, in his armour. The brightness of youthful beauty, generosity, and bravery shine forth in his face; his attitude gives evidence of a proud and terrible impetuosity; the character of the saint is indeed expressed most wonderfully, and life seems to move within that stone. It is certain that in no modern figure has there yet been seen so much animation, nor so life-like a spirit in marble, as nature and art have combined to produce by the hand of Donato in this statue.[21] On the pedestal which supports the tabernacle enclosing the figure, the story of St. George killing the dragon is executed in basso-rilievo, and also in marble: in this work there is a horse, which has been highly celebrated and much admired: in the pediment is a half-length figure of God the Father, also in basso-rilievo. This master likewise executed the tabernacle for the Mercatanzia, which is opposite to the church of that oratory: it is in marble, of the antique order called Corinthian, and differs entirely from the Gothic manner. This tabernacle was

[21] This famous St. George, executed in 1416, has been removed, for greater safety, to the upper hall of the Bargello, where a niche identical with the original one of Or San Michele has been prepared to receive it. A bronze cast of the statue will be placed in the said original niche under which still remained (in 1891) the *bas-relief* of St. George and the Dragon. Besides the St. George the great hall contains (in addition to several originals) a collection of casts from all the principal works of Donatello, the whole forming one of the most important special collections of castings ever made. The story that Michelangelo, looking at Donatello's St. George, said to it, "*Cammina!*" (March!), is bettered in a delightful popular legend which defies the fact that Donatello died ten years before Michelangelo was born. As the people have it, Michelangelo said one day to Donato, "Thy statue of San Giorgio has but one fault." Donato went sadly from him, and thinking always of his fellow's criticism pined away with grief. As he lay upon his death-bed he sent for Michelangelo and said: "Tell me, before I die, what that one fault is which thou imputest with such certainty to my statue?" "It is that it does not walk," replied Michelangelo.

intended for the reception of two statues, but these Donato would not complete, because he could not come to an agreement with the syndics in respect to the price. They were consequently executed in bronze, after his death, by Andrea del Verrochio, as will be related hereafter. In that *façade* of Santa Maria del Fiore, which faces the Campanile, Donato executed four figures, each five braccia high,[22] two of which are portraits from the life, one of Francesco Soderini when a youth, the other of Giovanni di Barduccio Cherichini, now called the Zuccone. The latter is considered the most extraordinary and most beautiful work ever produced by Donatello, who, when he intended to affirm a thing in a manner that should preclude all doubt, would say, "By the faith that I place in my Zuccone." And while he was working on this statue he would frequently exclaim, while looking at it, "Speak then! why wilt thou not speak?" Over the door of the Campanile, on the side facing the Can-

[22] The figures are three and one-half instead of five *braccia* high. The three statues nearest the *façade* of the church are by Donatello, namely, the St. John, the King David, called *lo Zuccone* (the pumpkin), and a third statue having the words "King Solomon" inscribed upon its base and the words "Jeremiah the Prophet" carved upon the roll held in its hand. These three are all signed by Donatello. M. Marcel Reymond says that the bases marked with the names of David and Solomon are the unremoved bases of earlier statues which stood there before Donatello's works took their place. The fourth is signed *Joannes Rossus Prophetam sculpsit Abdiam.* Baldinucci had already quoted documents to prove this latter attribution, and the scaffolding erected for repairs in 1831 afforded an opportunity for reading the signatures. See Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 404. Giovanni di Bartolo, called Il Rosso, worked with Donatello in 1419–22 on a statue of Abraham, and also on one of a prophet. It is in these statues of the Campanile, especially of the David (*lo Zuccone*) and the Jeremiah that Donatello first shows his intense originality and vitality. It is realism *à l'outrance*, feverishly animated, characterized and individualized in every inch of the marble's surface. Unattractive, almost repellent at first, the ugly, deeply seamed features, coarse and heavy, are yet full of subtlety, absolutely and intensely alive. These are not Donatello's best-known works, certainly they are far from being his most attractive ones, but they are in a way his most remarkable. Here is an art so exuberantly vital that a whole generation of sculptors found strength in Donatello's strength, and though in their own work they softened his ruggedness, yet they learned from this master to reverence even the asperities of nature.

onicate is the figure of Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, by this master, with another prophet. These figures were formerly placed between two other statues.

For the Signoria of Florence, Donatello cast, in bronze, a statue of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes. This was placed on the piazza, in an arch of their loggia. It is a work of great excellence, and proves the mastery of the author over his art.[23] There is much grandeur and simplicity in the aspect and vestments of Judith; her greatness of mind, and the power she derives from the aid of God, are made clearly manifest, while the effects of wine and sleep are equally visible in the countenance of Holofernes, as is the result of death in his limbs, which have lost all power, and hang down cold and flaccid. This work was so carefully executed by Donato, that the casting turned out most successfully, and was delicately beautiful: he then finished it so diligently, that it is indeed most wonderful to behold. The basement, also, which is a balustrade, in granite, of simple arrangement, is very graceful in its effect, and the appearance is extremely pleasing to the eye. Donatello himself was so well satisfied with the whole of this work, that he determined to place his name on it (which he had not done on the others), as is seen in the words *Donatelli Opus*. In the court of the before-mentioned Palazzo della Signoria is a David, in bronze, by this master, naked, and of the size of life.[24] He has cut off the head of Goliah, and raising his foot, he places it on the head; in his right hand is the sword. The animation, truth to nature, and softness manifest in this figure, make it almost impossible to artists

[23] M. Müntz considers the Judith to be one of his latest works. It is now in the Loggia dei Lanzi. Cicognara thinks that the restriction of attitude in the Judith, the slight sally which he has given to arms, knees, etc., is a proof of foresight, and intended to preserve the statue from accidental injury or blows. The attitude certainly is restricted even to stiffness, and the whole group is one of the least satisfactory of Donatello's productions.

[24] "The earliest attempt of the Renaissance to restore the study of the nude to honour."—Müntz. The critic refers to the earliest attempt in the round statue, not in the relief. The date is probably a little earlier than 1433. This statue is now in the Bargello.

to believe that it has not been moulded on the living form. This statue formerly stood in the court of the Medici Palace, but, on the exile of Cosimo it was transported to the position above named (the Signoria). In our day, the Duke Cosimo having made a fountain on the spot which this figure occupied, has caused it to be removed to another court (the place, that is, where the lions formerly stood), where it makes a very fine ornament to that *façade* of the palace. There is another beautiful David, in marble, also by Donatello, to the left of the hall where the clock of Lorenzo della Volpaia is placed: the head of the dead Goliah lies beneath his feet, and he holds the sling wherewith he has slain the Philistine, in his hand.[25] In the first court of the Palazzo de' Medici[26] are eight medallions of marble, whereon are copies from antique cameos, and casts from the reverses of medals, by Donatello, with some, also, of his own invention, which are very beautiful. They are fixed in the frieze, between the windows and the architrave, above the arch of the loggia. There is here, moreover, the antique white marble figure of Marsyas,[27] restored by Donatello, and placed at the entrance to the garden, as also a large number of antique heads, restored and enriched by this master, with an ornament composed of wings and diamonds (the emblem of Cosimo), extremely well executed in stucco. A very fine granite vase, whence issued a jet of water,[28] with one of a similar kind in the garden of the Pazzi,[29] in Florence, and which also has a jet of water, are among the works of Donatello. In the same palace of the Medici are

[25] In the Bargello, ordered in 1407. It remained in the Palazzo Vecchio from 1461 to 1781.

[26] The Medici Palace is now the Palazzo Riccardi. The subjects of these medallions are: Diomed with the Palladium, Hercules Conquered by Love, Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides, an Oracle, a Triumph of Love, Ariadne at Naxos, a Centaur, and a Kneeling Slave before his Master.

[27] There is a Marsyas in the Bargello, a mediocre work, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether it be the one restored by Donatello.

[28] There is a marble (not granite) vase now at the villa of Castello, which may be the one referred to.

[29] Now in the Bargello.

likewise figures of the Madonna in basso-rilievo, of marble and bronze, with other most beautiful works in marble, executed by Donatello, in low relief, of extraordinary merit. Such was indeed the estimation in which the talents of Donatello were held by Cosimo, that he kept him continually at work; and so great was the affection which Donatello, on his part, bore to Cosimo, that, at the slightest intimation, he comprehended all that was desired, and obediently fulfilled every wish. It is said that a Genoese merchant had caused Donato to make a bronze bust, of the size of life: it was a very beautiful work; and having to be carried to a great distance, was executed in a light and delicate manner. This commission had been procured for Donatello by the intervention of Cosimo; but when the bust was finished, and the merchant came to pay for it, the master appeared to him to demand too much for his work: thereupon the merchant was referred to Cosimo, who, having caused the bust to be taken to the upper court of the palace, had it placed between the battlements which overlook the road, to the end that it might be seen the better. When Cosimo therefore sought to arrange the difference, he found the offer of the merchant to be very far from the demand of Donatello; and, turning towards him, observed that he offered too little: but the merchant, thinking it too much, replied that Donato could have made it in a month, or something better, and would thus be gaining more than half a florin per day. Donato then turned about in great anger, this remark having offended him highly; and, telling the merchant that he had found means in the hundredth part of an hour to spoil the whole labour and cares of a year, he gave a blow to the bust, which fell to the street below, and was dashed in pieces, at the same time observing to the merchant that it was easy to see he was better versed in bargaining for horse-beans than in purchasing statues. Regretting what had happened, the merchant would then have paid him double the sum demanded, on condition of his reconstructing the bust; but this Donato

could not be persuaded to do, by all his promises; nor would he consent even at the request of Cosimo. In the houses of the Martelli are several statues, in marble and bronze, by this master; among others, a David three braccia high, with many other works executed by him, and freely presented to that family, in proof of the love and devotion which he bore them.[30] Among these works is more particularly to be specified a San Giovanni, of marble, in full relief, and three braccia high; a most rare thing; now possessed by the heirs of Ruberto Martelli, and respecting which a *Fideicommisso* was executed, to the effect that it should neither be pledged, sold, nor given away, under heavy penalties, in testimony of the affection borne by the Martelli family to Donato, and of his gratitude to them for the opportunity which their protection had afforded him for the acquirement of his art.

Donato also constructed a sepulchral monument for an archbishop, which was sent to Naples, and is erected in Sant' Angelo di Seggio di Nido.[31] In this work are three figures in full relief, which support the sarcophagus on their heads, and on the tomb itself is a story, in basso-rilievo, which merits the highest praise. In the place of the Count of Matalone, in the same city, is the head of a horse,[32] from

[30] Now in the Palazzo Martelli, Via della Forca; the David is unfinished. The Saint John is also still in the palace. A number of charming portrait busts of children have been attributed to Donatello, and Baron Liphart suggested to M. Müntz that many of these might be portraits of different members of the Martelli family. In view of a resemblance between some of the busts and of Donatello's close friendship with the family, the hypothesis is a reasonable one.

[31] Executed in 1427. The archbishop referred to was Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci. Michelozzo collaborated with Donatello. For description of this tomb see Perkins's Historical Hand-book of Italian Sculpture.

[32] There is a superb head now in the Museum of Naples. It is perhaps the head of an antique bronze horse which once stood before the cathedral; the body of the horse was melted down to make a big bell. See Milanesi, note 3, p. 409, vol. II. See addendum to the same note: "We have in the *carteggio privato* of the Medici, file 27, letter 395, a letter from Count Carlo Maddaloni, written from Naples, June 12, 1471, to Lorenzo de' Medici, thanking him for the present of a horse's head in bronze which he has placed in his

the hands of Donato, which is so beautiful that many believe it to be antique. In the Castello di Prato [33] he constructed the marble pulpit, from which the girdle (of the Virgin) is shown. In one compartment of this pulpit is a dance of children, so admirably and beautifully executed, that the master may be truly said to have exhibited the perfection of his art no less in this work than in others. Donatello likewise cast two capitals, in bronze, as supports for the above-described work, one of which is still there, but the other was carried away by the Spaniards, when they gave that region over to pillage.[34]

Now it chanced that at this time the Signoria of Venice, having heard of his fame, sent for Donato, to the end that he might erect the monument of Gattamelata [35] in the city of Padua, whither he repaired very willingly, and where he erected the bronze horse, still on the Piazza di Sant' Antonio, in which the chafing and neighing of the horse are made clearly obvious, while the pride and spirit of the rider are also expressed with infinite force and truth by the art of the master. Notwithstanding the great size of this casting, Donatello preserved an admirable justice in all the proportions; and the excellence of the work is such that it may be compared with those of any ancient master for de-

house where it can be seen from all sides." The balance of evidence seems to be that this latter is really the head by Donatello referred to in Vasari's life.

[33] Now city of Prato. The work was executed about 1434.

[34] It is probable that this second capital was never made. See Cesare Guasti, *Il Pergamo di Donatello*, etc. Michelozzo contributed the architectural part of the pulpit, and the whole forms one of the most delightful decorative *ensembles* of the Renaissance. Michelozzo, in the contract, is not mentioned by name, but as Donatello's "companion in art work."

[35] This colossal statue of the *condottiere* Erasmo da Narni, general of the Venetians, was erected 1444–53 at the expense not of the Signoria, but of his son, Gio. Antonio, and among the equestrian statues of the Renaissance is only rivalled by that of Colleoni, at Venice. A cast from it is in the Bargello of Florence, and the statue may be more easily seen there than upon its high pedestal against the brilliant sky of Padua, since the white plaster in the lofty vaulted room affords a better opportunity for studying the detail and modelling than does the dark bronze of the original, placed at so great a distance from the eye.

sign, animation, art, harmony, and care in execution; insomuch that it not only astonished all who then beheld it, but continues to amaze those who examine it in the present day. The Paduans, moved by the merit of this work, did their utmost to obtain the artist for their fellow-citizen, and sought, by all sorts of caresses to prevail on him to stay with them. In the hope of retaining him, they gave him the commission to execute stories from the life of Sant' Antonio of Padua on the predella of the high altar,[36] in the church

[36] One of the most interesting reconstructions ever made will be that (August, 1895) of the high altar of Sant' Antonio of Padua. In the middle of the fifteenth century the *Massari dell' Arca* of that city ordered twenty-nine works in bronze, besides others in stone, of Donatello, "assuredly," says M. Müntz, "the most considerable sculptural *ensemble* which the fifteenth century produced." Sig. Camillo Boito, *La Ricomposizione dell' Altare di Donatello, l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1895, 141-162, shows that these bronzes ordered of and executed by Donatello (with the aid of his assistants) were: A. Seven statues, the Madonna, S. Prosdocimo, S. Lodovico, S. Francesco, S. Daniele, S. Antonio, S. Justina. B. The Crucifix. C. Four *basso-rilievi;* the miracles (begun in 1446) of the Boy with the severed Foot, of the Miser's Heart, of the Infant given Speech that he might defend his Mother, and of the Mule which knelt before the Sacrament. D. An *Ecce Homo* in the *Ciborium*. E. A *Pietà*. F. Twelve little Angels playing on musical instruments (begun in 1446). G. The Symbols of the Four Evangelists (1446). Among these the *Ecce Homo*, although made for the altar, is believed not to be the work of Donatello, and the Crucifix, although by the latter, was not made for the high altar. To these is to be added the large relief in stone of the Entombment. July 24, 1576, the *Presidenti dell' Arca* ordered a new altar, which was an elaborate and apparently a clumsy affair. The bronzes of Donatello, taken from the places for which he had intended them, were dispersed and set upon or in various portions of the new altar, some of them too high, some too low, others in the dark, while several were placed in other parts of the church. A reconstruction is now being made of the altar, and the various bronzes, etc., are to be given as nearly as possible the places which Donatello intended them to fill. Sig. Boito, in a long and careful study, shows by citation of documents, by comparison of the horizon line in various reliefs, by observation of the similarity or difference in the framing (borders) to the various works, and by pointing out certain background ornaments of the *Pietà*, the probable original placing of all these different works. He also quotes an experimental distribution, made June 13, 1448, in a wooden altar "that foreign visitors might see" the works of Donatello, and he shows how the sculptor probably made certain changes after this original experiment. The altar as it is to be reconstructed will present three horizontal belts of sculpture; on the lowest will be all the figures of medium size in relief, the *Pietà* (in the

of the Friars Minors. These stories are in basso-rilievo, and are executed with so much ability, that the most excellent masters in this art stand amazed and confounded before them, when they consider the beautiful and varied compositions they display, with the vast amount of extraordinary figures they contain, and the careful consideration of the perspective manifest in all their parts. The Maries weeping over the Dead Christ, on the front of the altar, are likewise an extremely fine work of this master. In the palace of one of the Counts Capodilista, Donato constructed the skeleton of a horse, in wood; the neck is wanting, but the remainder may still be seen.[37] The order observed in the junction of the different parts is so remarkable, that whoever considers the manner of this work will be enabled to judge of the varied resources and boldness of the artist. For a convent of nuns, in Padua, Donatello executed a San Sabastiano, in wood, in compliance with the entreaties of a chaplain, their friend, who was a Florentine, and one of his

centre), the twelve musical angels, the Symbols of the Evangelists, and the Entombment. In the second line will come the reliefs with very small figures, the four miracles, and the *Ciborium*. In the upper row will be placed the nearly life-size figures of the Madonna and saints. Sig. Boito believes that the Crucifix (begun in 1444) was never placed upon the high altar of Donatello, but upon another and older altar, which continued in use even after the newer and more famous altar of Donatello was erected. For diagrams, reproductions, and copious explanations, see Sig. Boito, *op. cit.*, and Sig. A. Gloria, *Donatello Fiorentino e le sue opere mirabili nel tempio di Sant' Antonio in Padova*, 1895.

[37] A colossal wooden model of a horse, probably made for the statue of Gattemelata, is in the Palazzo della Ragione of Padua. In a festival given by Count Capodilista, in the fifteenth century, skins were stretched upon this horse and a colossal Jupiter was placed upon his back. It should be remembered that in the *quattrocento* Donatello's modelling of an equestrian statue was not only an achievement, but an innovation. From end to end of the peninsula there were to be seen only the Marcus Aurelius of the Roman capitol, and a few Gothic or semi-Gothic equestrian statues (the Scaligieri of Verona, Bernabò Visconti in Milan, Paolo Savelli in Venice, etc.). Donatello had before him a double problem of subject and of material execution, for the casting was to be on a scale hitherto unattempted in Renaissance statues. The horses of Saint Mark served as prototypes for this wooden model, which, in some respects surpasses the completed bronze statue.

own intimates. This chaplain brought Donato a figure of the saint, old and very ugly, belonging to the nuns, begging that he would make the new statue like that. The master, desiring to oblige the chaplain and the nuns, took pains to imitate their model; but, rude and ugly as the figure he had to copy was, Donato could not do otherwise than manifest the excellence of his art in his accustomed manner. At the same time he executed many other works, in stucco and clay; and, from a piece of old marble which the nuns above-mentioned had in their garden, he produced a very beautiful figure of the Virgin.[38] A vast number of works by this master exist in all parts of that city. They caused him to be considered a wonder among the Paduans, and won him the commendations of all good judges. But this determined Donato to return to Florence; he declared that if he remained any longer in Padua, he should forget all that he had acquired, and from being so much praised by every one; wherefore he affirmed that he should return gladly to his native city, though he were to be continually censured there, since such censure would give him motives for study, and consequently conduce to his attainment of greater glory. Having therefore departed from Padua, he passed through Venice on his return to Florence, and, as a mark of his consideration for the Florentines residing there, he left them the gift of a San Giovanni Batista, for their chapel in the church of the Friars Minors,[39] carved by himself, in wood, with infinite study and care. In the city of Faenza, also, Donatello executed a San Giovanni and a San Girolamo, which are no less esteemed than are the other works of his master.[40]

[38] Over the door of the Cappella delle Reliquie in Saint Anthony was until recently a Descent from the Cross by Donatello. All of the master's works in the church are to be rearranged. See note 36.

[39] Still in the church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, for which it was executed in 1451. In 1450 he undertook a statue of Borso d'Este in Modena, but, like the reliquary commenced in Mantua (1450–1451) for the Gonzaga, and the works for the Cathedral of Ferrara, it was not executed.

[40] In 1457; both are in the museum of Faenza.

On his return into Tuscany, Donatello constructed a marble tomb in the chapter-house of Montepulciano, adorned with an historical representation of great beauty.[41] In the sacristy of San Lorenzo, in Florence, he executed a marble lavatory,[42] on which Andrea del Verrocchio also worked, with many busts and figures in the palace of Lorenzo della Stufa, which are full of spirit and animation. Then, leaving Florence, he repaired to Rome,[43] where he laboured to the utmost of his power to imitate the works of the antiques; and, while studying them, he produced, at the same time, a tabernacle of the Sacrament, in stone, which is now in San Pietro.[44] When returning to Florence, and

[41] This is a monument to Bartolommeo Aragazzi (died 1429), secretary to Pope Martin V. As Donatello worked frequently with Michelozzo it is very possible that he may have helped to execute this tomb, but the commission for it was given solely to Michelozzo in 1436, and Donatello does not mention this monument in his report to the income-tax collector. See Milanesi, II., 413, note 5.

[42] The more important lavatory in a small room off the sacristy has been attributed to Benedetto da Maiano and also to Rossellino. According to Herr von Fabriczy (*Recherches nouvelles sur Donatello*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1892), Donatello contracted for a reliquary (see note 39) to be executed for the Gonzaga of Mantua, and delivered several figures, which have disappeared or have not been identified. He worked also in Pisa during the year 1426.

[43] There is obscurity regarding this second trip to Rome. Sig. D. Gnoli (see *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. I., p. 24) carries back his arrival to 1432, or end of 1431.

[44] Sig. D. Gnoli (see *L'Opere di Donatello in Roma*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. I., p. 24) thinks this tabernacle was made for S. M. della Febbre, was carried later into San Pietro, and later still, when the new sacristy was built, was placed in the wall of the Capella de Beneficiati where Schmarsow recognized it. No great influence of the antique is shown in it, and it may possibly date from Donatello's first visit. Herr von Tschudi finds in it great resemblance to Donatello's Delivery of the Keys, in the South Kensington Museum. The only fully authenticated Donatellos in Rome are the above *ciborium* and the tombal slab of Archdeacon Giovanni Crivelli (Church of the Ara Coeli), died 1432. The latter has been, at the instance of Sig. Gnoli, raised from the pavement and set upright. It is marble, not bronze, as stated by some critics, and in the signature, "*Opus Donatelli Fiorentini*," the latter word appears for the first time upon a work of this master. Sig. Gnoli has discovered in the *Archivio Lateranense* the wooden Saint John Baptist made for San Giovanni in Fonte, and attributed in earlier authors to Donatello. It was for a long time lost. He is sure it is not by Donatello, but is a much later work. See reproduction in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. I., p. 29.

passing through Siena, Donatello undertook to execute a bronze door for the baptistery of San Giovanni, in that city; and having made the model in wood, he had nearly finished the wax moulds, and successfully made the various preparations for casting, when there arrived in Siena a Florentine goldsmith, Bernardetto di Mona Papera, an intimate friend of Donatello, who, returning homeward from Rome, so talked and contrived that, whether for his own affairs, or for some other cause, he succeeded in taking Donato with him to Florence. The work thus remained unfinished, or rather, it was never begun; and there is preserved in that city, by the hand of Donatello, a San Giovanni Battista only; this is in bronze, it is in the apartments belonging to the superintendents of the Duomo, and wants the right arm, from the elbow downwards. Duomo himself is said to have left it in this state, because he had not received the full amount of the payment due for it.[45]

Having thus returned to Florence, Donato undertook to decorate the sacristy of San Lorenzo, in stucco, for Cosimo de' Medici. In the angles of the ceiling that is to say, he executed four medallions, the ornaments of which were partly painted in perspective, partly stories from the Evangelists in basso-rilievo. In the same place Donato made two doors of bronze[46] in basso-rilievo of most exquisite workmanship: on these doors he represented the apostles, mar-

[45] Donatello has several works in Siena, namely, a bronze relief (1427) incrusted upon the Baptistery font, the subject being Herod and Salome; the bronze tombal slab of Giovanni Pecci, Bishop of Grosseto, set in the pavement of the Duomo; two little figures of Hope and Faith, upon the above-mentioned font of the Baptistery, and on the top of the same three naked bronze *Angioletti*, which are among the finest productions of the Renaissance, and greatly surpass the famous *Angioletti* (in relief) of Padua. Another bronze *Amorino* in the Bargello was probably also intended for the font of Siena. The Saint John, when furnished by Donatello to the Duomo, really did lack an arm, which has since been supplied, but the story of non-payment is disproved by the cathedral books.

[46] These doors are remarkable and representative works of the master, but they certainly are not conceived in a decorative spirit, and are, according to M. Müntz (*Donatello*, p. 57), "a capital error" in their lack of rhythm and harmony.

tyrs, and confessors, and above these figures are two shallow niches, in one of which are San Lorenzo and San Stefano, in the other San Cosimo and San Damiano.[47] In the transept of the church also, Donatello executed four figures of saints in stucco, each five braccia high, which are very well finished.[48] The bronze pulpits were likewise constructed under his direction; and the passion of Christ represented thereon, is a work in which drawing, force, and invention, are alike remarkable, with a rich variety in the figures and building. This work Donato was prevented by age from completing himself, and it was finished by his disciple Bertoldo, who brought it to the utmost perfection.[49] In Santa Maria del Fiore are two colossal figures of brick and stucco, by Donatello, they stand without the church, and serve as ornaments to the angles of the chapels.[50] Over the door of Santa Croce[51] is still to be seen a statue of San Lodovico, in bronze, five braccia high, from the hand of Donatello, who being reproached for having made the figure stupid and clumsy,—(it is perhaps the worst, or in any case the least meritorious of his works)—replied, that he had done so of set purpose, since the saint certainly must have been a stupid fellow to leave his sovereignty and make himself a monk. For Cosimo de' Medici, the same master executed the bust of his wife in bronze, and this is still preserved in the treasury of our lord the Duke Cosimo, where are many other works in bronze and marble from the hand of Donato; among others a Virgin in marble, with the child in her arms, in very low relief, than which it is not possible to see anything more beautiful, and the rather as it is surrounded by historical representations in miniature by Fra

[47] These works still exist.

[48] These figures are lost.

[49] These pulpits, or rather isolated *ambones*, have reliefs representing the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Descent into Limbo, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. Donatello probably only made the sketches, and the reliefs are among the least admirable of his works.

[50] These figures are lost.

[51] The statue is in the *interior*, over the door.

Bartolommeo, which are admirable, as will be further shown in its due place. Our lord the duke has also a most beautiful, or rather wonderful, crucifix in bronze, from the hand of Donato, in his study, where there are innumerable antiquities of rare value, with very fine medals. In the before-mentioned treasury (guardaroba), moreover, there is a basso-rilievo in bronze, representing the Crucifixion of our Lord, which contains a great number of figures, with another crucifixion also in bronze. In the house now belonging to the heirs of Jacopo Capponi, who was an excellent citizen and true gentleman, is a figure in marble of the Virgin, in half relief, which is esteemed to be a most extraordinary work. Messer Antonio de' Nobili also, who was administrator of his excellency the duke, had a work in marble by the hand of Donato in his house, and in this is a half-length figure of Our Lady, which is so beautiful, that Messer Antonio prized it as much as all his wealth: nor is it less valued by Giulio his son, a young man of singular excellence and judgment, the friend of artists and of all distinguished men.[52] In the house of Giovan Battista d'Agnol Doni, a Florentine gentleman, there is moreover a Mercury in metal by Donato,[53] the height one braccio and a half; it is in full relief, and is clothed in a somewhat fanciful manner; the execution of this work is truly beautiful, and it is no less remarkable than the other rarities which adorn his most beautiful house. Bartolommeo Gondi, of whom we have already spoken in the life of Giotto, possesses a figure

[52] All of these works appear to be lost, or have not been identified, saving only the bust of the wife of Cosimo de' Medici. Sig. Umberto Rossi, *Il museo nazionale nel Triennio*, 1889–1891 (*L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1893, p. 15), states his conviction that the well-known bronze in the Bargello called the Annalena Visconti and attributed to Il Vecchietta, is really a portrait of Contessina de' Bardi, wife of Cosimo, and that it was executed by Donatello from a death-mask.

[53] Now in the Bargello. There has been much dispute as to whether this bronze Cupid (Perseus? Mercury?) is a genuine antique or a modern statue. M. Müntz unhesitatingly attributes it to the last period of Donatello's life, when "the attempt to follow the antique became stronger with him than the realistic instinct."

of Our Lady in mezzo-rilievo by the hand of Donato, which is finished with so much love and diligence, that it is scarcely possible to imagine anything better; nor will it be readily conceived with what grace and lightness the master has treated the ornaments of the head, or the elegance which he has imparted to the vestments of this figure. Messer Lelio Torelli also, first auditor and secretary to the lord duke, a no less judicious lover of all the sciences, talents, and honourable vocations, than excellent as a lawyer, has a marble figure of the Virgin in his possession which is likewise by Donatello.[54] But fully to narrate the life and enumerate the works executed by this master, would necessitate a longer story than we have proposed to ourselves in writing the lives of our artists, seeing that he occupied himself with so many things; giving his attention not only to works of importance, of which we have spoken sufficiently but also to the smallest matters connected with art. He frequently executed the arms of families, for example, placing them over the chimney-pieces, or on the fronts of the houses of the citizens; as may still be seen in the house of the Sommai, which is opposite to that of the baker, della Vacca, where there is a most beautiful specimen of this kind:[55] he made a chest or sarcophagus also, for the family

[54] Masselli states that we have no trace of either of these works. Among works not mentioned by Vasari but generally accredited to Donatello may be mentioned the wonderful so-called Uzzano bust in the Bargello, the Delivery of the Keys to Peter, a relief in South Kensington Museum; a Dead Christ upheld by Angels, a marble relief in the same museum; a Feast of Herod, marble relief in Museum of Lille; a bronze relief, St. Sebastian, in the collection of M. Edouard André; two terra-cotta sketches for a Virgin and Child in relief, both sketches recently acquired from Venice, one by the Berlin Museum, one by the Bargello (see *Le Gallérie Italiane*, 1895); a Flagellation, bronze relief in the Louvre; an Entombment, Vienna collections; reliefs of St. John Baptist in the Goupil collection at the Louvre, Dreyfus collection and Bargello of Florence; the two busts of children in the Vanchettoni church of Florence; the famous Laughing Child in the Miller collection of Vienna; busts of the Christ Child in the collection of M. Charles Ephrussi and M. E. André, of Paris; two Genii (candelabrum supporters) in the collection of M. E. Piot, of Paris. The Vanchettoni and Miller busts have been attributed to Desiderio.

[55] According to Milanesi this family (da Sommaja) became extinct in the

of the Martelli, in the form of a cradle of wicker-work; this was intended for a tomb, and is deposited beneath the church of San Lorenzo, no tombs of any kind being allowed to appear above, or in the church itself—the epitaph of that of Cosimo de' Medici is alone excepted, and the entrance even of this is placed below, like that of the others.[56] It is said, that Simone, the brother of Donato, having prepared the model for the sepulchral monument of Pope Martin V., sent for Donato, to the end that he might see it before it should be cast, whereupon that master, proceeding to Rome accordingly, chanced to be there exactly at the time when the Emperor Sigismond was in the city[57] for the purpose of receiving the crown from Pope Eugenius IV.;[58] wherefore

last century; nothing is known regarding the escutcheon mentioned, but other escutcheons existing in Florence are attributed to the master.

[56] Cosimo's "epitaph" may still be seen. The inventory of Donatello's property in Gaye's *Carteggio* shows conclusively that Donatello never had a brother Simone. C. C. Perkins says in his Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture that the Simone referred to was either Simone di Giovanni Ghini, a Florentine goldsmith, or else Simone di Nanni Ferruci, of Fiesole. Nanni di Banco was not a pupil of Donatello, as affirmed by our author, and although Vasari in another place makes Nanni a butt for the jokes of Donatello, the former was no amateur and no bungler, but the son of an architect and *capo-maestro* of the works, and himself a great sculptor, probably the most famous of those who immediately preceded Donatello—for Nanni was somewhat the senior of Donatello. He executed the beautiful *mandorla* of S. M. del Fiore.

[57] In 1433.

[58] The relief of the Delivery of the Keys, in the South Kensington Museum, probably dates from this pontificate. The Berlin Museum has a bronze statuette of S. John, the marble relief called the Pazzi Madonna, and a bronze bust of Lodovico Gonzaga III. (*circa* 1450). The Pazzi Madonna, the Dreyfus *Putto*, the South Kensington *Pietà*, the bust of S. John given by M. Goupil to the Louvre, are not mentioned by Milanesi in his catalogue (1886) of Donatello's works, but they are all accredited by most critics to that master. One may especially note the courageous and undoubtedly justified refusal of Mr. Claude Phillips (see *Marmi e bronzi del Rinascimento Italiano* in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. I.) to credit the Santa Cecilia of Lord Wemyss's collection to Donatello in spite of its long and general attribution to him by Perkins and other authors. Mr. Phillips says it is too facile in its elegance, too superficial, and too empty. The Madonna of Solarolo di Romagna, ascribed by Sig. F. Argnani of Faenza to Donatello, is said by Herr von Fabriczy (see *L' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., 322) to be by either A. Rossellino or one of his pupils. The large Crucifixion, with traces of gold upon it, now in the Bargello,

he found himself compelled to give his attention to the sumptuous preparations made for that festival, which he did in company with his brother Simone, acquiring therefrom much renown and very great honour.

In the *guardaroba* of the Signor Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, is a most beautiful head of marble, from the hand of Donatello, and it is believed that this work was presented to the ancestors of the signor Duke, by the magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, during the time of his stay at the court of Urbino, where were assembled a large number of distinguished men. In effect, Donato was a master of such merit, and so admirable in all he did, that we may safely declare him to have been the first, who, by his knowledge, judgment, and practice, rendered the art of sculpture and of good design illustrious among the people of modern times. And he is all the more worthy of commendation, because in his day the antiquities now brought to light—the columns, triumphal arches, and vases—had not been discovered, and excavated from the earth. Donato was, moreover, the principal cause of the determination taken by Cosimo de' Medici to bring the antiquities now in the Palazzo Medici to Florence: and all of which he restored with his own hand. He was most liberal, friendly, and courteous to all, being ever more careful for his friends than for himself; he attached little value to his gains, but kept what money he had in a basket, suspended by a cord to the roof, and from this all his assistants, as well as his friends took what they needed, without being expected to say anything to him. He passed his old age cheerfully, and when he became too decrepit to work longer, he was taken care of by Cosimo, and others of his friends. It is said, that when Cosimo found himself at the point of death, he left Donato in charge to Piero his son, who being a most careful executor of his father's will, bestowed on him a farm in Cafag-

is attributed to Donato by Sig. Rossi (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, VI., 16). Vasari does not mention Donatello's Marzocco, or Florentine lion, which long stood on the *Ringhiera* of the Palazzo Vecchio, and is now in the Bargello.

giuolo, the income from which was of such amount, that Donato might have lived on it most commodiously. He made great rejoicings over this gift accordingly, considering himself to be more than secured from the fear of dying of hunger by such a provision; but he had not held the property a year, when he returned to Piero, restoring the farm to him by the proper legal forms, declaring that he would not have his quiet destroyed, by thinking of household cares, and listening to the troubles and outcries of the farmers, who came pestering him every third day, now because the wind had unroofed the dove-cote, then because his cattle had been seized for taxes, and anon because of the storms which had cut up his vines and fruit-trees: with all which he was so completely worn out and wearied, that he would rather perish with hunger, than be tormented by so many cares. Piero laughed at the simplicity of Donato, and to liberate him from this grievance, he resumed possession of the farm, (for this Donato absolutely would have done), but assigned him an income of equal or larger value, secured on the bank, and to be paid in cash; of this he received the due proportion every week, while he lived, an arrangement which rejoiced him greatly.[59] Thus, as the friend and servant of the house of Medici, Donato lived in cheerfulness and free from cares all the rest of his days: when he had attained his eighty-third year, he became paralytic, and could no longer labour in any manner, whereupon he took to his bed, where he lay constantly, in a poor little house which he had in the Via del Cocomero, close to the nuns of San Nicolò, and here, becoming worse from day to

[59] Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Cosimo the Elder, has the following passage among others relating to Donatello: "As Donatello did not go dressed in the manner that Cosimo would have liked, the latter caused a mantle and cap to be made for him, with a cape beneath the mantle; and thus providing him with a new suit, he sent it to the master one morning that there was a festival, to the end that he might wear it on that occasion. Donato wore it once or twice, but after that he sent it to Cosimo again, because, as he said, it appeared to him to be too dainty."—*Vita di Cosimo*, in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, edited by Cardinal Mai, I., p. 341.

day, and declining by degrees, he died on the 13th of December, 1466.[60] He was buried in the church of San Lorenzo, near the tomb of Cosimo, as he had himself commanded, to the end that his body might be near him when dead, as his spirit had been ever near him when in life.

The death of Donato was much regretted by his fellow-citizens, by the artists, and by all who had known him in his life, and to the end that they might do him more reverence after death, than he had received while alive, they performed his obsequies most honourably in the above-named church, and he was accompanied to his grave by all the painters, architects, sculptors, goldsmiths, and in fine, by nearly all the inhabitants of the city. Nor was it until a long time after that they ceased to compose verses to his honour in different languages, and of various kinds; of these it must suffice for us to give the few that may be read below.

But before I come to the epitaphs, I think it would not be amiss to relate one more anecdote of Donatello, which is as follows: When he had already become sick, and a short time only before he died, there went to see him certain persons of his kinsfolk, and after they had saluted him, as is customary, and condoled with him on his illness, they told him that it was his duty to leave a farm which he had in the territories of Prato to them, and this they begged him very earnestly to do, although it was small and produced but

[60] Donatello died in 1468. His poor little house, "*Casetta*," was on the corner of the Via dell' Orivolo, where the Palazzo Riccardi (formerly Guadagni) now stands. His workshop was on the Piazza del Duomo, in the house at present numbered 21. In May, 1887, Florence celebrated the fifth centenary of Donatello's birth by a grand historical cavalcade (at the same time that she unveiled the new *façade* of the cathedral). This cavalcade was, an astonishing evidence of the vitality of the old Italian families. Dozens of the names of Florentine houses which occur in the pages of Vasari were to be found upon the programme of the day's celebration. Alberti, Strozzi, Rucellai, Ridolfi, Torrigiani, Guicciardini, Frescobaldi, Gherardesche, Pazzi, Capponi, Altoviti, Cerchi, Rossi, Martelli, Peruzzi, and many others rode in the ranks of the procession. For a detailed account of the festival, with illustrations, see *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, May 8, 1887.

a very little income. Hearing this Donato, who showed good sense and rectitude in all that he did, replied thus, "I cannot content you in this matter, kinsmen, because I resolve—and it appears to me reasonable—to leave the farm to the countryman who has always tilled it, and who has bestowed great labour on it; not to you, who, without ever having done anything useful for it, or any other thing but thought of obtaining it, now come, with this visit of yours, desiring that I should leave it to you: Go! and the Lord be with you." And of a truth such relations, who have no affection but to their own interests, and no motive of action but the hope of gain, should always be treated in that manner. Donato, therefore, having caused a notary to be summoned, left the said farm to the labourer who had always tilled it, and who had perhaps behaved better towards him in his need than those relations had done. His possessions connected with art were left to his disciples, who were Bertoldo, a Florentine sculptor, who imitated him pretty closely, as may be seen from a battle, in bronze, between men on horseback; a very beautiful work, now in the *guardaroba* of the signor duke Cosimo; Nanni d'Antonio di Banco, who died before him; Rossellino, Desiderio, and Vellano of Padua; but it may indeed be affirmed, that all those have been his disciples who, since his death, have desired to work successfully in relief. The drawings of Donato are extremely bold, and his designs evince a facility and freedom which have no equal, as may be seen in my book of drawings, where I have figures clothed and naked, drawn by the hand of this master, with some of animals, which astonish all who see them; and many other extremely beautiful things. The portrait of Donato was executed by Paolo Uccello, as has been related in the life of the latter. The epitaphs are as follows:

"Sculptura H. M. a Florentinis fieri voluit Donatello, utpote homini, qui ei, quod jamdiu optimis artificibus, multisque sæculis, tum nobilitatis tum nominis acquisitum fuerat, injuriave tempor,

perdiderat ipsa, ipse unas, una vita, infinitisque operibus cumulatiss, restituerit: et patriæ benemerenti hujus restitutæ virtutis palmam reportarit." *

"Excudit nemo spirantia mollius aera
Vera cano: cernes marmora viva loqui
Græcorum sileat prisca admirabilis ætas
Compedibus statuas continuisse Rhodon.
Nectere namque magis fuerant hæc vincula digna
Istius egregias artificis statuas."

"Quanto con dotta mano alla scultura
Già fecer molti, or sol Donato ha fatto:
Renduta† ha vita a' marmi, affecto ed atto:
Che più, se non parlar, può dar natura?"

Donato left the world so well furnished with his works, that we may with truth affirm, no artist to have worked more than he did. Finding pleasure in every branch of his art, he put his hand to every kind of work without considering whether it were of little importance or high value: but this multifarious action of Donato in every kind of relief, whether alto, mezzo, basso, or bassissimo, was without doubt exceedingly serviceable to sculpture, seeing that as in the good times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, it was by the number of masters that the art was brought to perfection, so it was by the vast amount of his labours that Donato alone sufficed to restore it to the admirable and perfect condition wherein we see it in our day. For this cause artists are more deeply indebted to him, than to any other man born in modern times, for the grandeur of this art; since he not only rendered the difficulties of the art less formidable, by the immense variety of his works, but also because he combined, in his own person, the in-

* In the Milanese edition the fourth word of the fourth line is written *unus*, and the first word of the sixth line is written *palma*.

† Read *Renduto*.

vention, judgment, practice, power of design, and every other quality that can, or ought to be, ever expected from the most sublime genius. Donato was extremely bold and resolute, executing whatever he undertook with extraordinary facility, and constantly performing much more than he had promised.

The completion of almost all his works was left to his disciple Bertoldo, but more particularly the bronze pulpits of San Lorenzo, which were eventually finished in great part by his hand, and brought to the state in which we now see them in that church.[61] [62] [63]

[61] Piero de' Medici had given Donatello the right to a tomb in this church, as we learn from a description of the sepulchres of the crypt made in 1462 by the Prior Piero Betti, cited by Manni. The burial-place of Donatello was, in 1547, granted to the family of the Scalandrini.

[62] M. Eug. Müntz in his life of Donatello divided his career into four periods. First, his period of absolute realism, 1410 to 1425, including the execution of the statues for the Duomo and Campanile, of the Magdalen in the Baptistery, and perhaps of the Uzzano bust (not mentioned by Vasari and now in the Bargello). Second period: When, under the influence of Michelozzo, Donatello's enthusiasm becomes tempered and disciplined. The third period includes the trip to Rome, the influence of antiquity, the execution of the David, the Cupid, and of the Organ Tribune. The fourth period comprises the sojourn in Padua, the rupture with realism and increased seeking after style.

[63] Donatello is the artists' artist. The *connoisseur* can feel the vitality, the power, the fire shown by the master, but only the trained practitioner can wholly appreciate the skill and knowledge which have directed this force and made this power manifest. If Michelangelo be the greatest genius that has held chisel and brush at once, Donatello may be called the greatest sculptor of the Renaissance, since he is the genesis even of Michelangelo. To make the marble *live* was Donatello's first care; next by calculation, judgment, ponderation to give it its utmost effect in relation to its placing and its distance. The result is a robustness, a sanity, a vitality, which have made his art a well-spring of inspiration to lesser men who have found room to soften and to change and to lessen, each after his own manner, and yet to develop into individual masters, upon the lines laid down by the great pioneer. In his famous visit to Rome with Brunelleschi, Donatello "had eyes only for sculpture." The power which this concentration gave to the sculptor has been recognized by Vasari with an enthusiasm which makes this life one of the author's best. Within the lines of his own art, Donatello gave the word to the sculptors of Italy. Without neglecting the art of relief, indeed while excelling, as Vasari tells us, in high, middle, and low relief, and while counteracting the pictorial tendencies of Ghiberti, he restored the statue in the round to a place of honor which it had not held since the days of the

I will not omit to mention, that the most learned and very reverend Don Vincenzo Borghini, of whom we have before spoken in relation to other matters, has collected into a large book, innumerable drawings of distinguished painters and sculptors, ancient as well as modern, and among these are two drawings on two leaves opposite to each other, one of which is by Donato, and the other by Michael Angelo Buonarroti. On these he has with much

ancients, showing himself as revolutionist in his marvellous realistic statues of the Campanile and Duomo, as devout student of antiquity in his medallions of the Medici palace and his *Amorino* of the Bargello. He created the first great equestrian statue of the Renaissance; by his *stiacciato* reliefs he showed the way to Pisanello and the medallists of the *quattrocento*; together with Michelozzo (whose important architectural part must not be underestimated) he inaugurated the type of the mausoleum of the fifteenth century, and he added the *Putto* as an ever-delightful element to the decorative art of the epoch, or if here he was not absolutely an innovator he so developed his theme that he became the poet of child-life. His only limitation seems to be in the choice of subject; he celebrates old age, middle age, and infancy; gnarled and rugged old age in his prophets, grand and serene manhood in his St. John of the Duomo, infancy in all its phases from the roguishly timid babies who shrink backwards as if frightened upon the cornice of his Annunciation in Sta. Croce, through the thoughtful children of his portrait busts to the inspired and emaciated San Giovannino of the Martelli, and again to Bacchanalian *Putti*, who girdle the pulpit of Prato in an almost delirious dance. But in all this he finds no place for women (since his Judith is the least satisfactory of his statues), and after his initial work, the Annunciation, he seemed to quite forget a certain kind of grace that is purely feminine and to banish it from his works, readily substituting dramatic expression for beauty and not disdaining actual ugliness as a factor in the production of the former. M. Müntz has noted the occasional violence and inequality of Donatello and the fact that he was the first artist who looked only at man. "The vegetable world meant nothing to him, and among the lower animals he modelled only the horse and the lion" (except in such minor work as the symbols of the Evangelists). Ghiberti and Luca della Robbia are profoundly imbued with Christian sentiment and hold in better balance than does Donatello, the study of nature and the search after the ideal. They represent the fifteenth-century tendency better than he does and their note is echoed in Desiderio, Rossellino Mino, and many others from end to end of the Renaissance. But Donatello is the *great sculptor*, admired of Michelangelo, and of whom Cellini says, "*Il gran Donatello e il maraviglioso Michelagnolo quali sono istati dua li maggior uomini dagli antichi in giù.*" "The great Donatello and the wonderful Michelangelo have been the two greatest men since the ancients."

judgment inscribed the two Greek mottos which follow; on the drawing of Donato, "Η Δοναος Βοναρροτιξει," and on that of Michael Angelo, "Η Βοναρροτος Δοναπιξει," which in Latin run thus: *Aut Donatus Bonarrotum exprimit et refert, aut Bonarrotus Donatum*; and in our language they mean, "Either the spirit of Donato worked in Buonarroti, or that of Buonarroti first acted in Donato."

END OF VOLUME I.

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